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Prof. Thallapally Manohar

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Editorial

The Greeks, the pioneers in historical writing, gave a divine status to the discipline of history and as per their mythology Clio is the Muse of history. Perhaps, History is the only academic discipline that is having a patron goddess.

History is the record of the human past written in an objective manner by using available authentic historical sources. In fact, history is a document of an unending quest of the mankind to lead a comfortable and happy life by innovations and inventions and by making necessary adjustments and compromises with the nature. The discipline is ever expanding and every day expanding. Initially started as a narration of events of war between two nations, History in its long journey of more than 2500 years accommodated in its scope all the activities of human beings.

Due to the apathy and lack of foresight of some of the leaders and administrators, the discipline of history was classified as 'non-utility' subject. In reality, a proper understanding of the subject helps to provide useful lessons and solutions to the problems faced in the contemporary world in a proper and rationalistic manner. Further, the repetition of blunders of the past can be avoided and the virtues and values of the yore be upheld by proper reading of history. Hence, the editorial board strongly believes that the history and heritage of our great nation should be made as a compulsory subject in all disciplines of knowledge may it be humanities, sciences, engineering and technology to inculcate self-pride and patriotism among the younger generation rather than the corrective measures undertaken in recent years.

The Department of History was started in the Kakatiya University, Warangal, in 1984 offering Masters and Research degrees in History. Warangal is a historic city rose into prominence during the Kakatiya rulers as their capital city. The exquisite monuments of the Kakatiya times scattered in the twin cities of Warangal and Hanmakonda and their surroundings attracting tourists from far and wide. Keeping in view of the tourism potential of the region and to promote professional expertise for tourism industry, the department took the initiative and started a two year Post-Graduate degree namely Master of Tourism Management in 1999-2000 and research activity was also undertaken in Tourism later. Then on wards, the Department of History was rechristened as Department of History and Tourism Management.

The studious and hard working faculty with singular devotion for learning and research brought reputation and laurels

to the Department of history and Tourism Management. The Department was well known for organising seminars and conferences at national and regional levels and hosted the Indian History, the South Indian History, the Andhra Pradesh History and the Telangana History Congresses more than once. Keeping this contribution in view, the Department ventured to start a research journal to share the historical knowledge and findings with the academic fraternity. The long cherished dream was fulfilled with the starting of Kakatiya Journal of Historical Studies (KJHS) in 2006.

The editorial board is constantly striving hard to standardise the quality of the KJHS. The Journal obtained the much coveted International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) in 2010. The KJHS was initially published with the financial support of UGC Unit of Kakatiya University, but later the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) extended its support through a financial grant for the publication. The KJHS was included in the 'B' group of the UGC- Care List much to the delight of the publishers. To further standardise the articles published in the Journal, we started reviewing the papers by experts. Hence, we are proud to announce that KJHS is a peer-reviewed journal. To check the plagiarism content, we are using URKUND software and publishing those articles whose similarities are less than 10% from 2018 issue onwards.

From the present volume (Volume- XV, Number- 1, May 2020) we are dividing the Journal into two sections, one for History and the other for Tourism Management. This volume is containing eighteen articles of academicians and researchers belonging to New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Telangana, Puducherry and Kerala and brought to light various facets relating to history and tourism.

The History section of the present volume consists of fifteen well researched articles. Prof. K. Purushottam in his article surveyed the Telugu Dalit short stories from social reform to Dandora in their historical outline and opined that the genre varied in themes and novel in technique representing the personal experiences and the contemporary Dalit movements. Dr. B. Rama Chandra Reddy unfolds some interesting information containing in the inscriptions of Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh in his article. Ms. P. Jyotsana and Prof. S. Srinath in their joint article on the status of primary education in the Hyderabad state between 1873 and 1949 opine that the educational development was on equal footing with the neighbouring regions under the British rule despite of adverse conditions during the study period. Prof. N.

Kanakarathnam in his article presented the yeoman services rendered by Kandukuri Rajyalakshmi, wife of the eminent social reformer Veeresalingam, for the cause of women education. In his paper, Dr. Pratheep. P. S. discusses the novel method of hill paddy cultivation initiated by the erstwhile Cochin state to bring more forest area under paddy cultivation to overcome the shortage of food grains in the state in the wake of Second World War. Dr. G. Dayakar's paper on the excise revenue in the Hyderabad State during the rule of the Last Nizam explains the measures taken by the administration to augment the Abkari revenue with facts and figures. Dr. Binod Bihari Satpathy in his paper on erotic art of Odisha argues that the fertility and protective aspects were two sides of auspicious symbolism behind eroticism and the erotic sculptures had a legitimate place in the domain of art. Dr. Potharaveni Thirupathi's article intricately describes the material culture of the shepherd communities in the Telangana State basing on his intensive field study. Mr. Basharat Hassan in his paper describes the land routes and waterways used for transportation of goods in Gujarat mostly basing on the travelogues of the seventeenth century. Dr. Suresh Anuganti in his article provides a bird eye view on the education system of India from ancient period to the contemporary period and argues that the blend of ancient and modern Indian knowledge systems is the just path that creates future citizens as holistic personalities, humane with the heart and progressive with the mind. Ms. Bhargavi Kaveti in her article traces the history and evolution of Telugu drama with special reference to Surabhi family which shifted from puppet shows to drama to become well acclaimed theatre group. Dr. Isha Tamta's paper traces the background of the evolution of the Shilpakar community in Uttarakhand and their necessity to create their own priestly class to meet their ritual needs. Ms. Sangita Yadav in her article explains the efforts of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar for achieving property and succession rights to the Hindu women. Ms. Nupur Bapuly's paper deals with the migration of Indians to New Zealand in historical perspective. Ms. Ispita Singh in her article explains the emergence of Shilpkar community, a collective identity to a number of downtrodden castes and their movement with the sole aim for the assertion of their identity.

The Tourism Management section of the present volume is having three articles. Prof. K. Vijaya Babu and Mrs. S. Chandra Kala in their joint paper provide a panoramic view of the heritage centres of India and various initiatives undertaken for the promotion of tourism in public and private sectors. The joint article of A. S. Vysakh and Saroop Roy B. R. ponders on the prospects of cemetery tourism in Kerala with special reference to the Dutch

cemeteries and they opine that more tourists can be attracted to Kerala by developing cemetery tourism. Mr. Saurabh Krishna in his article presents the strong relationship between the sustainable rural tourism development and the livelihood development focusing on Aurangabad area of Maharashtra. He opines that rural tourism will reduce the gap between the local communities, resort owners, government officials and will prove to be a perfect tool for the better livelihood and sustainable income pattern for the rural community of Aurangabad region.

I express my special thanks to Prof. Yagati Chinna Rao, New Delhi; Dr. Varsha Shirgaonkar, Mumbai and Dr. B. Rama Chandra Reddy, Puducherry, the external members of the Editorial Board for their constant support. Similarly, I thank Prof. K. Vijaya Babu and Dr. P. Sadanandam, the internal members of the Editorial Board for lending their helping hands. I profoundly thank the reviewers for sparing their valuable time to review the articles and offering their valuable suggestions and comments for the betterment of the papers published in the present volume. I would like to thank all the faculty members of the Department of History and Tourism Management and the authorities of Kakatiya University, Warangal for appointing me as the Editor of Kakatiya Journal of Historical Studies. In fact, the Journal owes its existence to the continued support and encouragement of our University authorities.

I thank U.G.C Unit, Kakatiya University, Warangal, Telangana for providing financial support for the publication of Kakatiya Journal of Historical Studies. Thanks are also due to the printers for neatly printing the Journal. Last but not the least, I thank all the contributors for evincing interest in publishing their research papers in KJHS and painstakingly revised their papers in the wake of the suggestions and comments of the reviewers.

Prof. Thallapally Manohar

May, 2020

Editor

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Section - A: History

From Social Reform to *Dandora*: A Critical Perspective of Telugu Dalit Short Stories in Historical Outline

K. Purushotham

Equality, freedom, justice and love are basic sentiments of people and society; they are many times more important than pleasure and beauty.
—Sharankumar Limbale¹

The first Dalit short story in Telugu, 'Etti Madiga' (1932) by Bhagyareddy Varma (1888-1937) appeared thirty one years after the first short story in Telugu.² This period marked the transition and consolidation of Dalit short stories as a genre heralding two important developments in the Telugu language: de-Sanskritisation and privileging the dialects, both of which were possible because of the social movements in different periods of time.

Sudra Mystic Poets:

The first form of the social movement in the Telugu region was by the seventeenth century sudra mystic poets, Potuluri Veerabrahmam, Siddaiah and Yogi Vemana,³ who propagated through their verses against the caste system, social inequalities, untouchability and orthodoxies. They questioned the bases of the caste and discrimination.

However, their writings were made unavailable or misrepresented. Their lives too had been relegated to the margins. Veerabrahmam, for instance was said to have committed *sajiva samadhi*, burying oneself alive. There is however, an interpretation that he might have been buried alive or forced him commit *sajiva samadhi*. Another mystic poet, Vemana was brushed aside as mad during his social activism.

About a hundred years after the death of Vemana, C.P. Brown (1798-1884), an English officer, who had learnt and served the Telugu language, could trace out Vemana's lost verses. He had to depend upon the local educated Brahmins, who worked as his scribes for wages. In the process, the scribes had either suppressed or misrepresented most of the verses. What is available of Vemana's verses today is the result of Brown's efforts.

The anti-caste movement began by the mystic poets did not sustain after them, and had suffered a break till the Dalits took up the cause in the twentieth century.

The Skewed Reform:

After a hiatus of about two hundred years, Gurajada Apparao (1862-1915) and Kandukuri Veereshalingam (1848-

1919), championed the concerns of social evils like untouchability, child marriages, bride-money, dowry, caste, widows' remarriages and religious hatred.

Their attempts were aimed at reforming select aspects specifically in respect of reforming the upper caste women. They failed to question the caste and the concomitant evils like the untouchability, discrimination and oppression, which are, for example, absent in the most famous literary works of Gurajada Apparao's much applauded play *Kanyasulkam* and Veereshalingam's novel *Rajasekhara Charitam*, the first Telugu novel. In this respect, the social reformers of the region did not continue the medieval *Bhakti* tradition of questioning the bases. There was a break. The Dalits therefore perceive the social reformation as a reaction to the religious conversions and the missionary education of the times.

Marga and Desi:

Even after the emergence of the Telugu prose, there have been writers using the pedantic and Sanskritised Telugu following the *marga*⁴ tradition. Chinnaya Suri (1807-1861), for instance wrote *Nitichandrika* (1853), the Telugu counterpart of *Panchatantra*, in the pedantic and plodding Telugu that is quite unreadable by the less educated. Ranga Rao, who brought out two volumes of Telugu short stories in English translation, observes that the pedantic style of Chinnaya Suri "affected literary Telugu, setting it back by at least fifty years. And the Telugu short story too has suffered" (1995: 258).

The beginnings of the Nationalist movement in the Telugu region under the leadership of Tanguturi Prakasham, Pattabhi Seetharamaiah and Burgula Ramakrishna Rao too privileged the translation literature at the cost of Telugu. The language of literature thus became alien to the lay reader. As a consequence, the unique Teluguness and culture got destroyed. Telugu was written off as the language of the low castes, a phenomenon comparable to English which had been considered the language of the poor by the Latin and Greek scholars during the formative years of English language.⁵ The established writers during the Nationalist period continued to depart from the *desi* traditions. The Nationalist literature did not reflect the aspirations of the sudras and the Dalits. It was believed that the national liberation would solve the Dalit problems too. Unnava laxminarayana's novel, *Malapalli* (1922) meaning Mala hamlet and N. G. Ranga's *Harijana Nayakudu* (1933), Harijan Leader represent this aspect. The Gandhian agenda of the 'Harijan upliftment' was criticised by the Dalit writers like Jala Rangaswami. Thus the Nationalist writing of the 1920s failed to represent the Dalit issue. Similarly

the Communist literature of the 1940s too sought to sideline the socio-cultural specificities like the caste, gender and ethnicity. The Communists failed to understand the caste specific character of the Indian society.⁶

The liberation of the Dalits was not on the agenda of the social reformers, Nationalist leaders and Communists. It is in this context that Gail Omvedt explains why the Phule-Ambedkar movement had been overshadowed by the discourses of the left and the right. The Nationalist movement was idealized as inclusive of all the facets by the Nationalist historians who saw the pre-Independence history “only in terms of political opposition to a foreign power” (13).

The distinction between everyday language and literary language in Telugu, like in other Indian languages, had a lot to do with caste. The upper castes, wielding the written language, imposed Sanskrit-inflected Telugu as though it was the standard. The impositions, however, were opposed at different times in history considering intelligibility as the yard stick (Purushotham 2014).

The first of such oppositions came from the mystic poets and reform activists, who had used writing as the means of propagating their ideology, democratised the Telugu language. The seventeenth century mystic poet, Vemana used colloquial language, a drastic deviation from the highly stylised, metred verses of his times.

The second opposition was from the nineteenth century Gurajada, who used the short story for propagating the reforms. He deviated from his predecessors in choosing the themes and language. The themes of his stories were didactic; and the language he preferred was the spoken mode. His famous story, ‘Diddubatu’ was first written in semi-classical style, and later was revised using the spoken. Gurajada and Kandukuri “broadened the base and scope of literature as well as transformed the traditional character of Telugu literature into the modern tool of communication” (Ramakrishna 71). In a way the credit for modernizing the Telugu literature goes to the social reformers. Therefore Gurajada is considered the harbinger of modernity in Telugu literature.

The Dialect:

The third opposition to the standard form of Telugu was by restoring the dignity to the dialect in the Telugu short story. Telugu language produced a galaxy of short story writers, most of who were from the coastal fertile plains of Andhra region belonging to the upper castes, and they wrote in ‘standard’ idiom. Their writings overshadowed the writers of the low castes; the writings

from the Telangana and Rayalaseema regions, which have a distinct variety of language. These two regions are known for different ethos because of backwardness and poverty.

However, because of the rise in literacy and social awareness, a shift has taken place in the genre. Ranga Rao writes, "with the spread of education and the democratic spirit, writers in impressive numbers have started coming from the other two regions" (1995: 261). Their stories are remarkable for the use of the dialect and the depiction of the struggles of the people for socio-economic equality. Literary writings were built upon as a part of people's movements and struggles. The writers aspire to revolt against the existing power structure and look for an alternative possibility.

In contrast, the writers from the west Rayalaseema and the northern Telangana wrote differently from their counterparts in the coastal region. In the subsequent period, there has been an 'epochal shift' (Ranga Rao 2006: 227) in the direction of representing the regional ethos of the Telangana and the Rayalaseema regions. The writers from these regions dealt with poverty and exploitation paving the way for modern literary movements. The second half of the twentieth century is known for movement literature like *Abhyudaya Rachayithala Sangham* (Progressive Writers' Association) of the 1950's, *Digambara Kavulu* (Naked Poets) of the 1960's, and *Viplava Rachayithala Sangham* (Revolutionary Writers' Association) of the 1970's.

The Telugu short stories underwent a transition when the writers of the two backward regions questioned the tenets of the formation of the coastal writing as the canon. The de-centring legitimised the use of the dialects and sociolects opening up the space for the Dalit writing as a result of which, "Telugu prose took a giant leap forward by privileging two strands—regionalisation in the form of dialects and Dalitisation by the use of Dalit diction" (Purushotham *et al* 91).

The Antecedents:

The Dalit intelligentsia consider the Dalits as the *Adi-Dravidians*, the original inhabitants of the land (Sambasiva Rao 36). Boyi Bhimanna attributed the authorship of the Hindu scriptures to the Dalits (Gnaneshwar 23)⁷. After the political consolidation, the Aryans in the subsequent period subordinated the language and literature of the Dravidians. This was the beginning of the suppression of the Dravidian language and art. The remnant forms of the original Telugu, which might have existed during the non-Hindu religious periods like the Buddhism and the Jainism, were suppressed, and subsequently the Sanskritised

Telugu was institutionalised under the patronage of the Telugu kings like Rajaraja Narendra of the eleventh century. The original Telugu had been endangered from eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

The early Telugu writing was more of transliterations from Sanskrit by affixing the morphemes of *du, mu, vu* to the Telugu words, some of which include 11th century Nannaya's *Mahabharatham*, 12th century Ketana's *Dasakumara Charitra*, 14th century Hulakki Bhaskarudu's *Ramayana*, 15th century Sreenadha's *Srungara Naisadham* and 15th century Potana's *Mahabagavatam*. This tradition of writing with Sanskrit inflections continued till the emergence of modern prose. The less educated sudras and the Dalits did not understand the works due to Sanskritised Telugu. Brown writes, 'Sanskrit speech has influenced the Telugu language as much as, if not more than, Latin has influenced English' (Brown v).

Support Literature:

The beginning of Telugu Dalit short story may be traced in the writings of the Brahmins, who wrote on untouchability, exploitation, caste, agrarian relations, bonded labour. The first ever anthology of Telugu Dalit short stories, *Dalita Kathalu* (Dalit stories, 1996), edited by R. Chandrasekhar Reddy and Laxminarayana includes the stories of non-Dalit writers. Of the twenty-five authors, only three – Kolakaluri Enoch, Chilukuri Devaputra, Boya Jangaiah – are the Dalits, while the rest are Brahmins and peasant castes. Laxminarayana's seven topical volumes entitled, *Dalitha Kathalu* covering the stories published between 1910 and 1998, each volume containing one-fifth of the stories by the Dalits.

The non-Dalit writers wrote with sympathy and compassion for the Dalits. But they lack in the essential Dalitness like self-respect, assertion and protest. The most noteworthy of the non-Dalit writers include Sripada Subrahmanya Sastry, Banda Kanakalingeswar Rao, Veluri Sivarama Sastri, Karunakumara, Anisetti Subbarao, Adavi Bapiraju and Gopichand. Their stories are confined to the description of the inhumanity of untouchability and exploitation. These stories can at the most invoke pity and sympathy but cannot radicalise the themes but deal with M.K. Gandhi's agenda of 'Harijan upliftment.'

In the subsequent period, the second-generation non-Dalit writers like Madhuranthakam Rajaram, Pulikanti Krishna Reddy, Singamaneni Narayana and Kethu Vishvanatha Reddy wrote on the Dalit life focussing on the failure of the State in transforming the lives of the Dalits and exploitation of the upper castes. The Dalits were written about with sympathy.

These volumes however include stories by the Dalit writers like Endluri Sudhakar, Paidi Tereshbabu, Madduri Nageshbabu and Kalekuri Prasad. Stories by the women Dalits are conspicuously absent. The mainstream anthologies that have come out in the recent past gave adequate representation to the Dalit short story writers, including the Dalit women writers.

The Agency:

Failed by the nineteenth century reform movement as well as the twentieth century Nationalist and the Communist movements, the Dalit question has been taken up for the first time by the first generation educated Dalits with what was termed the Adi-Andhra movement. Beginning 1917, the Adi-Andhra movement held a series of conferences and public meetings under the leadership of Bhagyareddy Varma. In the subsequent period the movement assumed the form of Adi-Dravida. Bhagyareddy Varma played a pivotal role in radicalising and organising the Dalits.

As a part of this movement, Kusuma Dharmanna wrote against caste oppression, untouchability and discrimination. He stressed that the Dalits, being the original inhabitants, be called Adi-Andhra. The Dalit aspirations were reflected in the writings of the 30s and 40s. Boyi Bhimanna demanded unity between the Mala and the Madiga terming them the *ma-ma* castes. The Dalits, being the descendants of Arundhati and Vasistha, he claimed for them the highest order. Another Dalit writer, Jala Rangaswami denounced the Aryan conquest that enslaved the Dalits, and wrote about the glory of the pre-Aryan past. The writers of this period vociferously attacked the casteist hegemony radicalising the Dalit thought. Adapa Satyanarayana writes, "The Dalit intellectuals of the pre-Independence period were the forerunners to the contemporary Dalit literary and cultural movements in the state" (Satyanarayana 94).

The Beginning of a Genre:

It took seven years for the Dalits from being written about (first in 1925 by Sripada) to writing themselves in 1932, when Bhagyareddy Varma, the earliest Dalit writer in Telugu portrays *vetti*, the bonded labour rendered by the Madigas in the villages in his 1932 story and Gottumukkala Mangayamma, a Dalit woman published her story, 'Ayyopapam' (Alas!) in 1935.

Kolakaluri Enoch published 'Dikkulenodu' (An Orphan) based on the burning of Kotesa, a Dalit boy by the upper castes in 1965. The Dalit short stories came of age in 1965 with Enoch's story, 'Oorabaav' (Public-Well), a landmark story dealing with the problem of drinking water, chastity of Dalit women and struggle

for self-respect. A Dalit woman in the story slaps an upper caste man for his misbehavior. When the upper castes deny them drinking water in vengeance, her husband Chidambaram dumps a dead animal into the well. Resultantly Chidambaram and his father were thrashed and tied in the village junction. Then his wife fights heroically and saves them. The story is suggestive that the laws are not supportive of the Dalits. The bold deed of a Dalit woman may be understood in contrast to the passive and docile women of the upper castes. In another story of Enoch, '*Goddla Donga*' (Cattle Thief), Nagadu, who lives on butchery, is accused of stealing the cattle. Keeping vigil in the night, Nagadu identifies the real culprit, a landlord. Thinking that the landlord will be let off due to his social status, Nagadu kills him, stuffs his body into the ox's stomach and throws into the well. Then on, the theft of the cattle stops. The story critically presents how the Dalits are branded as thieves.

The first generation Dalit writers wrote in what may be termed the 'received' language as against the Dalit language, their target readers being the educated Dalit middleclass.⁸ The writings of this period lacked in radicalizing the Dalit masses. Instead, their objective has been to struggle for acceptability, and to be a part of the literary canon.

The new millennium heralded a new beginning of the Dalit short stories in Telugu. The writers began to write in raw, colloquial language and unrefined form defying the canonical literary forms. This kind of writing in Marathi Dalit literature is termed the 'mud-house Dalit writers.' In one of his insightful articles, Gopal Guru classified the Marathi Dalit writers into mud-house Dalit writers and elite Dalit writers for the purpose of what he summed up, 'the double task of tackling the Dalit literary establishment, on the one hand, and colonizing the state, on the other' (Gopal Guru 192).⁹ The mud-house Dalit writers have been criticized as 'vulgar and obscurantist' by the canonical writers as Arjun Dangle cites (50). The mud-house writers in Telugu have been producing remarkable writings expressing themselves. Other noteworthy works have been by the Dalit women writing,¹⁰ most of which deal with social violence as against the upper caste women writing, which addresses the domestic violence.

The Telugu Dalit short stories have traversed a long un-tread path to grow from mere Dalitness to the historical Dalitness or Dalitness by birth. The contemporary Dalit short stories represent the Dalit ethos expressed in the Dalit language; retain links with identity and past. The Dalit identity, representation and authenticity are some of the common themes of the stories indicating how closely they are grounded in Dalit

reality. The stories range from representing the bonded labour rendered by the Dalits in the early times to the modern forms of exploitation and repression.

Dalit Women Writers:

The genre, Dalit women short story is remarkable for varied reasons: unlike their men counterparts, they were not written about by upper caste counterparts; they wrote about themselves. They did not imitate elitist women writing; they set a trend in using the dialect, Dalit register and folk narrative techniques.

Nallapoddu (Dark Sun, 2004), an anthology of Dalit women's writing traces the Dalit women's writing from 1921 to 2002. Another anthology, *Nallaregati Saallu* (Furrows of Black Soil, 2006) carries stories on Madiga and its sub-castes. The Dalit women intelligentsia in both the anthologies offers sharp critique of the mainstream feminism and patriarchy contributing to the formation of what has been termed, the Dalit feminism. Jupaka Subhadra, Gogu Shyamala, Jajula Gowri, M.M. Vinodini, Challapalli Swarupa Rani, Sujatha Gidla, Jalli Indira, Putla Hemalatha, Kannaram Jhansi, among others are the contemporary writers. A great deal of media based debate on Dalit feminism generates sharp and more focused discussion: "the poetry by Dalit women writing [sic] from the Dalit women's perspective and based on their experiences as Dalit women is far more powerful and has a far greater impact than the poetry of Dalit male poets or upper caste women poets. Dalit women's issues have less in common with Dalit men's issues than with those of the upper caste women" (Swaroop Rani 21).

Coming to the individual work, Jajula Gowri published *Mannu Buvva* (Mud Rice), a collection of remarkable stories about the lives of Dalit women labourers and the domestic and social violence. A Christian Dalit writer and academic, M.M. Vinodini too brought out a collection of short stories. One of the striking features of their writings is the absence of patriarchy in the family. Chinna Rao writes: "In Dalit culture, family and community relations are basically democratic in nature" (Chinna Rao 42). Unlike in the Hindu family system, the men and the women of the Madigas work on equal terms. The stereotypes of the mother, the servant maid and the sex object have no place in the Dalit families. The Dalit women, at times, exhibit more courage and expertise than the Dalit men; they work with men on equal par in rendering the manual labour. They play equal and active role in production (as labourers), decision-making in marriage, family, monetary and other matters. The extent of domestic violence against the Dalit women is less when compared to their counterparts in the Hindu patriarchy. Their social institutions like marriage and family are not rigid and strait jacketed. Flexibility is what characterizes the

socio-religious practices. The short stories by the Dalit women reflect these modernist aspects. Though a recent phenomenon, there have been promising Dalit women writings on social violence. Their experiences of being Dalit women represent the double oppression: caste-based violence and violence within the family. This aspect is portrayed in subtle forms in Jajula Gouri's 'The Grazing-Land' suggesting a novel solution to the raped girl; Nallala Laxmirajam, who exemplifies in 'A Festival of Talk' the vicious nexus between the 'empowerment' of the Dalit women, sex and the hegemony of the upper castes in the villages. The narrative voice of a dead Dalit speaks the way he had been victimized by sex-caste interface in Madduri Nageshbabu's 'The Cattle Shed.'

Paidi Tereshbabu's 'Friday' and Boya Jangaiah's 'The Idols' deal with the theme of ignorance and economic exploitation addressing the aspects of orthodoxies. Kalekuri Prasad's 'The Weed' is a portrayal of the child labour, characteristic of the Dalit families denying them the pleasure of childhood and education. Vinodini's 'Block' depicts the inhuman practice of the manual cleaning of the toilets, and exploitation of the people involved in the work. Pasunuri Ravindar's 'What Caste are You' addresses the subtle relationship between the Dalit and the backward castes through the travails the Dalits encounter living in rented houses in the cities.

The Dalit stories are mostly by two sub-castes, Mala and Madiga out of the fifty-nine Dalit sub-castes. However, some of the stories deal with the sub-castes, Dakkalis in 'The Judgement' by Jupaka Subhadra; the plight of Bandodu, alms seekers from the Madigas in 'The Crow,' by Kolakaluri Enoch and the struggle for the land by a Baindla woman in 'The Baindla Woman Demanded her Land' by Gogu Shyamala. It took several years for the Madiga writers to write their experiences when compared to the Malas; similarly, the sub-caste Dalits, who are also called the satellite castes, too will start writing their experiences when they are educated. Telugu dalit writing would have truly come of age when even these castes—the ostracised among the ostracised—begin writing about themselves (Purushotham 2010).

These Dalit stories represent the Dalit ethos. The stories are historical in the sense of representing the historicity of the oppression in optimistic and assertive terms as against what Eleanor Zelloit viewed the Marathi writings as "a little more pessimistic and dark in tone than...the Dalit movement itself" (Zelloit viii). The Telugu Dalit writings in general are not pessimistic; they represent the contemporary Dalit movement. The question of representation in the Telugu Dalit short stories is authentic and true to life. The Telugu Dalit short stories are vibrant and promising adding new collections and authors to the corpus of the genre.

Dandora and Identity Writing:

The Dandora movement, launched in 1994 demanding for the rationalization of reservations for jobs and in educational institutions, heralded a new epoch in the identity movement. Also known as the self-respect movement, Dalits – especially the Madigas – began to affirm their occupation, beef eating, language, culture and ritual practices. They began to append the caste name to their names as the upper castes do. Being endogamous, they are autonomous and independent in terms of their economy, occupation and culture, which may be due to their exclusion from the mainstream society. The Madiga caste “looks like [a] parallel full-fledged community within broad limits of Hindu society.” (Reddy 92)

One of the important features of the stories is the affirmation of Dalit rituals. The rituals and conventions differ from region to region within the Dalits; they pray the principle of *shakti* as manifest in the form of the female cult-deities that include, Kuntamma, Kolhapuramma, Batamma, Peddamma, Maisamma, Pochamma, Ellamma and Poleramma in different regions of the state. Unlike the Hindu mode of worship, the Dalits do not worship the idols. The shakti-worship is mostly based on the formless images; not a definitive idol. For instance, the Dalits worship Ellamma, Maisamma and her sub-cults; Pochamma and her sub-cults; and the famous biennial tribal fair of Sammakka-Sarakka in Telangana have neither definitive shape nor any idols. These aspects of the rituals are effectively portrayed in different stories.

Cutting across the genres, Dalit identity writing in Telugu emerged in the last decade. Yendluri Sudhakar's *Mallemoggala Godugu* (1999) meaning umbrella of jasmine buds, originally serialized in a Telugu daily, is a collection of tales that affirm the Madiga occupation, culture and language. He portrays in them the conflicts and problems of the madigas. This collection, known for introducing the genre of the autobiography, is an account of the experiences of the authors' friends and relations. Another work, *Madigodu* (Madiga Man, 1997), a collection of tales by Nagappagari Sunder Raju, portrays the deplorable condition of the Madigas in the Rayalaseema region. Consisting of ten tales written in a unique technique, the protagonist is unidentifiable, and could be the author himself. Delineating the life of a student, the tales present an adept youth in caste profession, education, skills and song. The author, who had succumbed to premature death, narrates the Madiga culture. Another story, '*Boddeddu Katha*' portrays the consumption of the meat of pre-deceased animal as a great experience. D. Gopi's *Gudise Esobu Kathalu* (1992) is yet another collection of tales dealing with personal experiences of the Dalit Christians. Gopi, a practicing

journalist in the coastal Andhra, narrates in highly readable prose, the snippets from the deplorable day-to-day experiences of the Malas and the converted Christians, who suffer double humiliation: in the Church and the mainstream society.

On the whole, the genre of Dalit short stories in Telugu is dense in the representation of personal experiences, varied in themes, novel in techniques, and is more developed in comparison to Dalit poetry, novel or drama in Telugu.

Endnotes:

¹Sharankumar Limbale, *Towards an Aesthetic of Dalit Literature: History, Controversies and Considerations*, trans. Alok Mukherjee. Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2004, 119.

²'Gunavathiyagu Stree' (1901), considered the first short story in Telugu by a woman writer Bandaru Achamamba (1874-1905), appeared thirty one years after the first Indian short story, 'Madhumathi' (1870) by Poornachandra Chattopadhyaya, younger brother of Bankimchandra.

³The other mystic poets, who questioned caste and untouchability across India include Nandanar and Tiruppan (8th C), Chokkamela (14th C), Guru Nanak, Ravidas, Chandidas and Kabir (15th C) and Sarvagna (16th C).

⁴*Marga* style is suffused with Sanskrit words, prosodic patterns, which cannot be understood by the lay reader as against *desi*, a tradition in the South Indian writings using the indigenous prosodic meters easily readable.

⁵English was the language of the working classes and was a dialect in England till Henry IV (1367-1413) made it an official language of England in 1417. It was as late as 1894 in Oxford and 1911 in Cambridge that English was taught, and was recommended by Charles Grant as the medium of instruction in 1772.

⁶Regarding the Dalit ascendancy to political power, Kancha Ilaiah writes that a few Dalit leaders emerged as leaders especially in the Congress, but not in Communist parties. Damodaram Sanjivayya of the Congress was the first Dalit chief minister of Andhra Pradesh in 1960 and first Dalit to be the president of the AICC. However, the political ascent did not help serve the community. See 'Caste or Class or Caste-Class: A Study in Dalit Bahujan Consciousness in Andhra Pradesh in 1980s.' *History and Society: Research in Progress Papers*. New Delhi: NMML, 1995.

⁷Padmasri and Padmabhushan Dr Boyi Bhimanna (1911-2005), a noted Telugu Dalit poet ascribed the ancient writing to the non-Aryans. Ganumula Gnaneshwar refers to Bhimanna's ideas in *Boyi Bhimanna Sahiti Sastipurti Sanchika*, Hyderabad: Sahiti Sastipurti Prachurana, 1983.

⁸The Telugu Dalit short story mirrors the Dalit middle classes and the lower classes, a feature that does not characterize the Gujarati Dalit short stories as observed by Rita Kothari. See 'Short story in Gujarati Dalit Literature.' *Economic and Political Weekly* (Nov, 30, 2001).

⁹Gopal Guru attributes the retreating of the Dalit cultural movement in Maharashtra to the academic orientation, quest for literary recognition and

materialism on the part of the writers. See 'The Interface Between Ambedkar and the Dalit Cultural Movement in Maharashtra.' Ghanshyam Shah ed. *Dalit identity and Politics: Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge*, Vol.2. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001, 192.

¹⁰Gogu Shyamala, ed. *Nalla Poddu* (black sun): *Dalita Streela Sahityam* 1921-2002, Hyderabad: HBT, 2004; and Jupaka Subhadra and Gogu Shyamala, ed. *Nalla Regati Saallu* (furrows of black soil), Hyderabad: Mysamma-Sabbanda Prachuranalu, 2006. The former contains writings by the Dalit women and the latter is an exclusive anthology of short stories on Madiga women.

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Retracing the Clusters: Select Inscriptions of Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh

B. Rama Chandra Reddy

Prakasam district lies between 15°30 and 16° north latitudes and 79° and 80° east longitudes. Initially it was known as Ongole district, which was originally constituted on the 2 February, 1970 and was renamed as Prakasam district on 12 May, 1972, in memory of the great patriot and Andhra Leader, Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu on his birth centenary year. It was carved out of three taluks of Guntur District, i.e. Addanki, Chirala and Ongole, four taluks of Nellore district, i.e. Kandukuru, Kanigiri, Podili and Darsi and two taluks of Kurnool district i.e. Markapuram and Giddalur.¹ The district was not a homogenous unit at any point of historical times till 1970.

The archeological data reveals the traces of human habitation in various parts of the district from Paleolithic times till the historic period. The history of Prakasam district goes back to the rule of the Mauryas. The first known lithic record of the district was a Brahmi label inscription found at Malakonda. There is no element of doubt about the rule of later Satavahanas over this area, for an inscription of Yagnasri Satakarni, dated in his 27th regnal year was noticed at Chinaganjam, the second inscription found in the district. Then onwards, uninterrupted inscriptions of successive periods and dynasties are found in the district. The district headquarters Ongole is often claimed to be an ancient town with a doubtful identification of Ongodu of the early Pallava inscriptions. But the boundaries mentioned in the inscriptions did not match in any direction of the town. Perhaps the said Ongodu seems to have located somewhere in Prakasam district. Keeping in mind the rich epigraphical resources of the district, the present paper is an attempt to list out some important and unique inscriptions of the region.

The First Telugu Poem:

The first known Telugu verse appeared in a stone inscription at Addanki of Prakasam district belonging to c. 850 A.D. in praise of Eastern Chalukyan military general Pandaranga in an archaic ninth century Telugu. K.V. Lakshna Rao for the first time identified lines 3-7 of the inscription contained a Telugu verse in *Taruvoja* metre. He states that "the metre *Taruvoja* in which the verse is written in a group of eight *dvipadas*, whose two feet form one *pada* of it". The verse part states that "in the first year after coronation (the king) being proud of his army and elated (thereby), having anointed Pandaranga, the Samanta, to the command of the army and sent (him), he captured twelve *Kottams* belonging to one [Vaso]- Boya. He reached the hilltop of Vemgi-nadu and

planted the goad Tribhuvanamkusa (there). He exposed fully the fort of Katte.” It is believed that the said Katte or Kattem fort was located somewhere near Kandukuru. The inscription mentions the donation of a piece of land capable of sowing with 8 *candies* of paddy at Dammavuram village to Lord Aditya- Bhatara (Sun).² As such the inscription pushed the evidence of the existence of Telugu poetry nearly two centuries before Nannaya.

Interesting Temple Consecrations:

Prakasam district consists of some interesting inscriptions regarding the construction of temples. In some of them, mention was made to memorial or sepulchral shrines constructed in the name of a departed soul. Hence, some of them may be funerary temples generally erected over the places of burial of the mortal remains of kings, administrators, ascetics, saints and sages. It was widely practiced in South East Asia known as Devaraja cult. As per the available information it was practiced by the Cholas in early medieval South India and there are as many as sixteen such temples during Chola period.³ It seems that venerating the dead is one of the oldest surviving customs in South India may it be in the form of megalithic burials, erecting of menhirs in the prehistoric times, construction of *stupas* housing the mortal remains of the ‘enlightened’ in Buddhism or installing hero stones who died for a noble cause occasionally depicting a Siva Linga at the top or the upper panel, if it is tiered. In such cases the god and temple may it be a Saiva or Vaishnava was often named after the dead.

The earliest such temple can be located in Konda Manjuluru belonging to 1167-68 during the time of Rajendra Chola. The Sanskrit inscription in Telugu characters mentions that one Errama Nayaka son of Sabbanna, the Superintendent of Treasury of Rajendra Chola, residing at Sri Nidumbrolu situated in Velanadu, set up a Siva Linga naming it as Subbesvara after his father and caused the construction of a temple in the village named ‘Sri Manjuluru well known as being preceded by the word *parvata*’ ie. Konda Manjuluru located in Karma Rastra (Kammanadu) with a wish ‘let my father obtain union with Siva’.⁴

In a similar vein Govinda Nayakulu, the prime minister of Mahamandaleswara Chakranarayana Sri Sarangapanideva during the illustrious reign of Kakati Ganapathideva in 1256-57 A.D. erected the image of Madhava Perumal in order that his father Madhava Devaraja might obtain Vaikunta at Yendluru. (*Tama Tandri Madhava Deva Rajunaku Sri Vaikunta Loka Praptamai Petti Nija Brutyulairi*). The said Govinda Nayakulu endowed a village by name Yendluru to Madhava Perumal for providing all enjoyments consisting of daily offering, lighting and all other pleasures.⁵

An inscription of 1272-73 mentions that during Kakati Rudradeva's reign, Mallana Devi, daughter of Gopaladeva, who was the paternal uncle of Mahamandaleswara Chakranarayana Sri Madhavadevaraja, the governor of Addanki *Sthala*, set up the image of Gopisvaradeva in the name of her father at Tammuluru, caused the pinnacles of the temple to be erected. She gifted some dry and wet lands and a flower garden for providing daily worship and all other enjoyments of the god and to the dancing girls of the temple.⁶

The bilingual Manikeswaram inscription of 1353-54 is more elaborate in this regard. The inscription eloquently pronounced that when one Parvata Mallinatha, who was a minister and honoured by Anavota Reddy, died, his younger brother Machiraja performed his funeral obsequies as per rules and caused to be brought two beautiful *Lingas* from Pathalaganga in Srisailam (mentioned as Lingasailam and Srigiri in the inscription). Then Machiraja consecrated a *Siddhalinga* designating it as Ravinutala Pravata Mallinatha Linga to the south of the temple of Madukesvara in order that his brother might obtain the abode of Siva. At the same time, he set up the other *Linga* designating it as Soma Srigiri Siddhalinga, representing his own linga (*Pranalinga*) in the *mandapa* in front of it. For the daily services of the two *Lingas*, he presented some land in Medur Agrahara which was under his ownership.⁷ The same inscription also made a mention of the other meritorious deeds of Machiraja for the temple including construction of steps to the Kundika (Gundlakamma) river, a new *mandapa* at the gate, a new enclosure, a kitchen, planting coconut trees around the temple, gifting a golden lotus containing the nine gems, a curtain and *Harathi* plates and provision for mid day food offerings to the god.

One curious inscription from Polavaram mentions Kummara (Potter community) Chennam Setti caused to construct a temple to Chenamalaya (Siva) at Polavaram for the religious merit of his parents Dademma and Gopi Setti in the Srimukha year.⁸ The inscription is important for two reasons firstly the god was named after the person who constructed the temple and secondly he belongs to potter caste, which was rare of its nature. One can understand the wealth of potter who belong generally to a servicing community in those days.

Sanis or Devadasis (Temple Women):

A few temple inscriptions of Prakasam District mention the existence of *Devadasis* known in the epigraphs as *Sani/ Sanulu* and some donations were made to them for their services in those temples. In some cases the names of some *Devadasis* are also forthcoming from the records. The inscriptions of the temples of Venugopala Swamy temple of Valaparla of 1148-49,⁹ Potlapadu

opposite to Virabhadra temple (mentioned in the inscription as Tripurantaka Sriman Mahadeva) of 1219-20,¹⁰ Mallesvara temple of Nagaluppalapadu of 1239-40¹¹ and Tammaluru (mentioned in the inscription as Gopisvara deva) of 1272-73 made a mention of the *sanis*.¹² The Chennakesava temple inscription of Chandalur of 1533-34 during the reign of Achyutadeva records a charitable grant of 2 *kunchalas* of land to the dancing girls of the *Tiruvidhi* (sacred street) (*Tiruvidhi sanlu*) and Tirumalu Sarva Sanindasi, who do service to the deity Kesavanatha.¹³ A damaged inscription of the same place mentions the names of two Devadasis as Tirupani Dasi and Dontamma.¹⁴

Peculiar Taxes:

The Hindu temples constructed by rulers or their officers or other Philanthropists would be endowed with a variety of donations including land or money for conducting of various types of worships and services, jewellery for decorating the presiding deity as well as the processional deities, cows and eves for different kinds of lamps etc. However, we come across some peculiar types of taxes rather contributions for the temples to meet various enjoyments.

Two inscriptions from Kandukuru region are interesting as the soldiers of the Reddy kings paid a certain amount as tax or contribution for the temple services which was not heard of earlier. One Kondamudusupalem inscription of 1400-01 during the time of Reddy rulers furnishes that while Srigirisvara Reddy, son of Komati Reddy was ruling the country and when Komati Raja was administering the town of Kandukuru, the heroic soldiers (*Vira Parivaramu*) contributed or were ordered to contribute one *duggani* on each of ones houses from their pay and presented the same as an endowment for providing different kinds of enjoyments (*Angaranga bhoga*) of lord Kanda Someswara Deva of Kandukuru to last as long as the sun and moon.¹⁵

A Chundi inscription unequivocally mentions a tax on soldiers. The epigraph records that in the year 1408-09 Mallaya Reddy, the younger brother of Komati Reddy and the son of Srigiri Reddy installed the image of Sri Janardhanadeva and constructed a temple and a *mandapa* at Chundi village. He bestowed various land grants for different enjoyments of god including food offerings and salaries to the temple servants. He made to pay 2 pies each by his soldiers to meet the expenses of the festival of the god.¹⁶

The historians unanimously accept that the tax burden increased heavily during the Vijayanagara period. It should be noted that more number of taxes were imposed on the non-agriculture sector as per the available records. Prakasam District inscriptions also mention some taxes which are not forthcoming

so far in the available Vijayanagara inscriptions of Andhradesa. One inscription of Chennakesava temple of Markapuram issued by Mahamandalesvara Madiraju Narappa Deva during the reign of Sadasiva in 1555 provides the information of a curious tax for the first time and perhaps for the last time. The inscription records a gift of the various toll incomes along with other taxes like those on houses, grazing, oil mills and looms and other taxes namely *Mundrayam*, *Andisanthi* etc. amounting about 150 *rukas* due from eighteen villages of Kocherlakota *sima* held by the donor as his *Nayankara* for food offerings of Lord Chennakesava of Markapuram. The said inscription also divulges that *Lanjasunkam* (tax on prostitutes) collected from the place as well as during the festive occasion was also made over to the temple.¹⁷ An incomplete inscription of 1569 during the reign of Sadasiva from the same place mentions that Chennappa Nayaka, who obtained Kocherlakota *sima* as *Nayankara* from Mahamandalesvara Ramaraju Tirumalarajayya, gifted the income out of *Akulamatrayam* (perhaps a tax on betel leaves) to Lord Chennakesava.¹⁸

Social Mobility:

M.N. Srinivas, the celebrated sociologist propounded the theory of sankritization process as a means of social mobility and socio-cultural change in India. He says “sanskritization is the process by which a ‘low’ caste or tribal or other group, changes its custom, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, ‘twice-born’ caste” and “such changes are followed by claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to the claimant caste”.¹⁹ In this context, the inscriptions of Prakasam District record such a process in respect of two communities namely Boyas and Gollas.

The Boyas were aboriginal people living in Andhradesa mainly in the present day Prakasam, Nellore and Chittoor districts. The Boya tribal chiefs were ruling their hilly regions known as Boya *Kottams*. During the Chalukyan period, the celebrated military general Pandaranga conquered twelve such *Kottams* of one Vaso Boya and said to have exposed the hill fort of Katte, perhaps near Kandukuru or in the Nallamala hills. It seems that they scattered later on to different places shunning their tribal identity. Hanumantha Rao informs “the Boyas played an interesting role in the political and social history of Medieval Andhra. It was a story of several sections of the Boyas giving up their aboriginal habits and entering into the fold of the neighbouring Brahminical social order, gradually rising in the scale of civilization and social ranking and getting absorbed not only into the priestly class but into the ruling class and the trading and agricultural classes as well, ultimately losing their tribal identity”.²⁰

The Chandalur Copper plate inscription of Sarvalokasraya (Vijayasiddhi) son of Vishnuvardhana of Chalukya family of 673 A.D. is important in this regard. It records a grant of the village Chendarura (Chandaluru) in Kamma *rastra* to six *Chandogas* (intoners of Samaveda) Brahmins, who received two shares each. Five of them belonged to Kaundinya *gotra* and one to Kalabhava *gotra*. Curiously, the proper names of recipients were not mentioned. The first recipient was mentioned as resident (*vastavya*) of Katura and in the case of five other donees Boya was suffixed to their village name. The five villages mentioned were Vangra, Kollipuro, Pidenā, Kuriyida and Kodinki.²¹ Perhaps, they might be Boya tribal Shamans, if not chiefs of the respective villages. Hence, it is inferred that some of the Boyas were elevated to the ranks of Brahmins in a curious caste matrix of Andhradesa.²² Despite of the fact, the early medieval Prakasam district inscriptions referred to the Boyas in connection with the gifts of cattle to the temples for lighting a lamp. They received cattle from the donors, reared them and supplied a stipulated amount of ghee to the concerned temple for lighting the lamp donated by the donor. Such inscriptions are forthcoming from Tripurantakam also.²³ After sometime, the Boyas began to donate lamps to the temples, perhaps, after becoming wealthy with the rearing of donated cattle. One Tripurantakam inscription of 1253 mentions that one Nukanna Boya son of Bayyan Boya donated 13 cows for a perpetual lamp to the Lord.²⁴ Perhaps, the Boyas want to elevate their social position by bestowing gifts to the temple like those of elite communities.

Gollas or Yadavas are cattle herders by tradition. In the early medieval Andhra inscriptions, the Gollas were referred to as the keepers and custodians of the cattle and sheep endowed to the temples by the donors and deliverers of the specified amount of ghee for the perpetual lamps endowed. However, a sequence of events in the thirteenth century Andhra, culminated into a fatal and bloody warfare at Erragaddapadu in Prakasam district in which the Gollas fought heroically against Nallasidhi, the Telugu Choda ruler. Later the events entered into the bardic tradition known as the Epic of Katamaraju mostly recited by Kommulavadlu, a sect of Madiga community.²⁵ The Gollas tried to elevate their social status from the ascribed Sudra cattle breeders to Ksatriya status by depicting themselves as chivalrous people mentioning the Erragaddapadu battle and by citing an honourable descent. At Gundlapalem, supposed to be the battle ground of Erragaddapadu, one Ramayya son of Kondayya engraved on a lengthy stone edict belonging to 15th century describing the condensed version of the ballad. It says "Vallu Raja, who was of the Atreya *Gotra* and who as a Yadava Kshatriya, who was descended from the divine feet of Sri Vishnuyogamaya, the lord of Mathurapura, the renowned destroyer of foes, who was

descended from Gopikavallabha of Dvaraka and who was of the lineage of the famous Puru, and his sons Polu Raja and Peddi Raja and their sons and other Yadavas met Siddhi Raja in battle at the junction of Lingalakonda and Yaragaddapadu in the presence of Somesvara and perished".²⁶ It is curious to note that Katamaraju's name was mentioned nowhere in the inscription. In fact, the inscription should be understood as a means adopted to claim a higher social status. Gundlapalem Inscription is important in many ways. Firstly, no donations were described in the inscription. It seems that the inscription is commemorative in nature at the place of the battle. Secondly, it traces back the origin of the Gollas to Lord Krishna and says that Valaraju was a Yadava Kshatriya of the Atreya *Gotra*. Thirdly, while mentioning the Gollas as *Badugulavaru* who belonged to Yadava dynasty, it states that they became cowherds to tend cows owing to a curse. Fourthly, Erragaddapadu battle took place in defence of cows. In fact, the inscription clearly reveal that the Gollas wanted to legitimize their claims for a higher status in the *varna* order in the much durable elite epigraphical media with their adopted genealogies, *kshtra* quality and heroism.

Curious Dommara Inscription:

The Dommaras, both men and women, were skilful acrobats, tumblers and tight-rope dancers exhibiting their feats as they wander about the country. During the medieval period of Andhra, they used to collect a tax known as the Dommara *pannu* from the villages perhaps for entertaining them at regular intervals.²⁷ An inscription of 1683-84 from Kandukuru provides some interesting details. When the prominent Muslim administrators of Kandukuru were assembled with the headmen and accountants from different places, two acrobatic troupes of Mannekari Annareddi and Papayya performed various feats on poles and ropes. Then Annareddi fell down from the rope and died in the midst of the assembly. At the request of the members of the assembly to provide some rent free land (*inam*) for the livelihood of the children of the deceased, one *gorru* of dry land and a wet land in which four *tums* of paddy can be sown were granted with hereditary rights. The inscription states that the sons and grandsons of Papayya and Annareddi should enjoy the lands in peace as long as the sun and moon exist.²⁸ The incident shows the kind gesture of the ruling class by giving compensation when an untoward incident happened before their eyes while being entertained.

Motupalli Port Inscriptions:

Motupalli, now a deserted village of Prkasam district, was a famous international sea port during the medieval period and it was evidently the same as 'mutfili' mentioned by Marcopolo, the

famous Venetian traveler.²⁹ It was also known as Desuyakkondapattana during the Kakatiya period. The available inscriptions from the village clearly testify that it was an important port during the times of Kakatiya and Reddy rulers.³⁰ The 1244-45 A.D. bilingual inscription in both Sanskrit and Telugu of Kakatiya Ganapathideva, inscribed on four sides of a pillar of the *mandapa* of the Virabhadra temple of Motupalli, is unique in many respects. It was stated in the inscription as *abhaya sasana* (edict of protection) to the foreign traders by sea whose vessels might be wrecked on the coast of Ganapathideva's territories. While formerly the whole cargo such as gold, elephants, horses, gems etc. of such ships was forfeited to the state by force, Ganapathideva promised in the inscription that henceforth nothing but the usual customs would be levied on it. It was said such munificence was for the sake of glory and merit and was out of mercy of traders who incurred the great risk of sea voyage with the ambition that wealth was more important than life. The edict mentions the rates of customs as very low and they are as follows. "The rate of this duty (is) one in thirty on (all) exports and imports. On sandal $\frac{1}{4}$ *ruka* per *tula* or 1 *gadyana* value. On camphor, Chinese camphor and pearls $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ of a *ruka* per *gadyana* value. On rose water, ivory, civet, camphor oil, copper, zinc, mercury (*riseya*), lead, silk thread, corals and perfumes $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of *ruka* per 1 *gadyana*. On pepper $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *ruka* per 1 *gadyana*. On all silks $\frac{5}{2}$ *rukas* per *svarpa* or bale. On areca nuts $\frac{3}{4}$ *rukas* per 1 lakh or 1 *gadyana* value".³¹

More than a century later, almost a similar inscription was issued in 1358 by one Somaya, a minister of Anavota Reddy. It was inscribed on the two sides of a pillar in the *mandapa* of the same Virabhadra temple in Motupalli. It was also issued for giving *abhaya* (removal of fear) to the indigenous as well as the foreign traders. The inscription stated that the traders could store their cargo in the warehouses of Motupalli port and be taken whenever they needed. It also informed that the remitting of customs duties known as *aputrikamu* and *kaddayamu*, the duties on gold and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the duty on sandal wood and agreeing to levy duty on other articles as per the old rates.³²

After the region came under the control of Vijayanagara rulers, another inscription, stated to be *Dharma Sasana* (edict of righteousness) in the text, was issued in 1390 by Devaraya Vodaya, son of Harihara. It gives details of the taxes levied at Motupalli. As per the record for all the articles brought down from the ships a tax (*sunka*) would always be charged at the rate of five; for the imported gold *kavvati* articles eight per *garisa* be levied; the tax in the royal *karuku* were 650 (?); for a parcel of Coral five *rukas* and one *addiga*; for sealed articles two *kasus*; for Ponnuru white pachadas and saris of delicate texture of the same appearance

four *kasus* and saris of the same kind manufactured by the Kaikkolas (weavers), one *kasu*. The inscription also informs that the officers of the king who collect the dues should give a third to Devaraya.³³ These inscriptions seem to have been issued in an effort to give fillip to seaborne trade and to rejuvenate the activities of the port by removing the fear of tax burden among the traders.

Boundary Disputes:

Various ceremonies are observed while founding a new village. After selecting a prospective site, on an auspicious day a large hole would be dug in which the nine varieties of grains and small pieces of five metals were placed and then a large stone known as *Boddurayi* (novel stone) would be implanted. Surrounding the stone, a new village would be built as per the established social norms. Then, the boundaries of the village were marked in the presence of the people of neighbouring villages to avoid disputes in future. But the boundary disputes tend to arise between the neighbouring villages mainly due to ignorance and selfishness of the villagers or natural causes like floods. Such boundary disputes will be fixed by following time honoured methods. As per that a person agreeable to both the villages would tread and settle the village boundary in the presence of the villagers of neighbourhood by putting earth on his head, wearing chaplets of red flowers and wearing a red dress after due swearing.³⁴ The Kaifiyats of Cuddapah districts mention a slightly different method. As per that an agreeable person treads the boundary after having a bath, wearing a wet cloth, a garland of flowers in his neck, tying a cloth to his waist containing nine varieties of grain (*navadhanyalu*) and keeping on his head an unburned pot filled with cow milk. It was strongly believed that if the witness trespass the boundary, the milk pot would be broken. In such cases the person who was treading the boundary should be killed.³⁵

Prakasam district inscriptions mention three such boundary disputes. An Ongole inscription of 1273-74 while Chakranarayana Mahadevarayalu was ruling the country a boundary dispute arose between Ongole and Murikinuthalapadu. With the consent of both the parties, one Bottuviti Proli Reddy of Ongole trod the boundary in the presence of Dammuka Devanayulu, Gangaraju, Chandari Bairapa Nayudu, perhaps the headmen of the disputed villages and the Reddys of the eight families of Aruluru and Pelluru villages. The said Proli Reddy was granted 200 *kuntas* of land for the act.³⁶ Similarly, a Chilamakuru inscription of 1518-19 states that the trustees of Kailasanatha and Bhima temples granted both dry and wet lands as *Sarvamanya* to Medarametta Singirinayudu, who walked over the boundary line of Chilamakuru to settle a boundary dispute.³⁷ A stone inscription from Karedu of 1802 records that on August 11th, 1802, Pakala Ramanna, the

Brahmana Karanam of Binginipalle had successfully trodden the boundary between Karedu and Binginipalle under the orders of John Pinnavart (Benward) Travers, the collector of Ongole and Nellore.³⁸ It is interesting to know that even the British also followed the old method of settling the disputed boundaries in the early decade of 19th century.

Lambada (Banjara) Inscription:

As per a tradition the Lambadis or Banjaras first came to Deccan and South India from the north with the Moghul camps as commissariat carriers. Later they seem to have settled down in the South as salt traders transporting marine salt from the coastal areas to the hinterland and grain traders using their pack-bullocks. The Banjara copper plate inscription of 1746-47 from Ramayapatnam in Prakasam district is unique as none of their inscriptions are forthcoming from any part of South India so far. Curiously the inscription was not issued in their mother tongue but in Telugu. The deed was executed by certain number of Lambadis with surnames like Domavatu, Kaadalatu, Bhukya, Chakavatu etc., perhaps, the heads of the respective groups, to Bava Mohandas Raghavadas. It records that in the *fasli* year 1156 (1746) the said Lambadis settled to give one rupee per every *matala* (*putti*?) of salt purchased by Byjaris (Banjaras or salt traders) to maintain the charity in Bava Mohandas Raghavadas *matham* (choultry) at Bandar Ramayapatnam. Therefore they, the salt traders, who trade at Pakala, Binginapalli and Tummalapenta of Sarkar Udayagiri; Zuvvaladinne, Krishnapatnam and Gangapatnam of Sarkar Sarvepalli and Gogulapalli, Iskapalli and Alluru of Sarkar Kambham and other posts on the coast, whoever they might be, bound to continue in the said manner the charity to the *matham* to his sons and grandsons in succession as long as the sun and moon endure.³⁹ This unique copper plate mentioned the places of marine salt production in the present day Prakasam and Nellore districts. It clearly informs that the Banjaras almost monopolized the salt trade of the coastal areas Prakasam and Nellore districts by the middle of eighteenth century. Since there is no pilgrimage place, it may be assumed that Bava Mohandas Raghavadas was maintaining a choultry mainly to provide shelter and food to the itinerant Banjara traders during their stay at Ramayapatnam port. However, the salt trade of the Lambadis disturbed the occupational pattern of the Uppara community, who were specialized in the manufacturing of earthen salt since the earthen salt was neither good nor strong as the marine salt transported by the Banjaras. Hence, the earthen salt slowly lost its market, depriving the Upparas their traditional occupation making them to depend more on earth work relating to the maintenance of tanks from Seventeenth century in the present day Prakasam, Nellore and Kadapa districts.⁴⁰

Imprecatory figure of Surabheswara Kona:

Imprecation in epigraphy is cursing individuals, who destroy the gift or misappropriate the charitable grant. Since the donors wished their charity to last long (as long as the sun and the moon endure), they added imprecations to their donations or charitable deeds to desist the possible embezzlement. They vary from simple warnings to severe abuses. The number of such passages in an inscription varies from one to half-a dozen and rarely ends without an imprecation. In this regard K.V. Ramesh states that with the ascendancy of vernacular dialects as the medium of inscriptions, imprecatory passages of regional languages began to appear for a better understanding of the people and the Sanskrit *Vyasagiti slokas* were also retained at the end. He further adds that verbal curses were represented as obscene and ugly relief carvings to facilitate the illiterate mass to have a quick grasp of the message in focus.⁴¹ Though some articles appeared on the imprecatory passages of Andhradesa such carvings are not reported so far.⁴² One such imprecatory figure was identified in Prakasam district in a recent visit to Surabheswara Kona by the present author. The inscription of 1540 inscribed in the Papavinaseswara temple at Surabheswara Kona in Turimella village during the reign of Achyuta records the donation of Tamitikonda Vaddi Potavaram village to the god by one Nagappa.⁴³ An obscene relief carving was chiseled on the inscription in which a donkey tries to insect a woman. This imprecatory relief is only one such in Andhradesa (subjected to correction) as far as our knowledge is concerned.

Thus the inscriptions are Prakasam district are useful to unfold various facets of the history of the district. As such some of the inscriptions found in the district are unique and found nowhere else in Andhradesa.

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Status of Primary Education in Erstwhile State of Hyderabad : 1873-1949

P. Jyotsana & S. Srinath

Education is a fundamental aspect in transforming culture, society, political system and economy, more so the case of 'primary education' in the princely state. This paper examines broadly the status of primary education in erstwhile state of Hyderabad during 1873-1948. While doing so, the background of princely state, origins of modern education, and the policy of government towards education, spread of education, training and curriculum are widely covered with the available archival sources.

Background:

Sultan Quli Qutb Shah laid the foundations of Hyderabad city. It became the capital of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of Asaf Jahi House in 1724, a native state better known as the dominions of His Highness Nizam.¹ Hyderabad was the largest and foremost of the erstwhile Princely states of India. The Nizams gave importance to construction of Irrigation works to improve agricultural yield. They also modernised the state by introducing Railways and Airways. They had their own currency, Electricity, Medical & Health Department, Public works department. It was during the Asaf Jahi rule, the state made rapid advance in education and culture. During the second half of the nineteenth century, particular emphasis was given to education. Every effort was made to lay foundation of modern educational system in Hyderabad. Till then, traditional learning was limited and available to a few through private tuitions for wealthy and well to do families. The government established a few *madarasas* most of them imparted elementary education.²

The Hyderabad city being the state capital was part of Telangana region accommodates large number of population and thus the percentage of population living in urban areas was high in Telangana compared to other regions (i.e Marthawada). The contributions of the Nizams were immense to the cause of education. The sixth Nizam Mir Mahboob Ali Khan who had extended his support to the Christian missionaries to establish English medium schools and encouragement to start Telugu, Kannada and Marathi medium schools. Both western and non-western education was promoted during his rule and the same was taken forward by the seventh Nizam,³

Elementary education also called primary education happens to be the first stage in formal education, beginning at about age 5 to 7 and ending at about age 11 to 13. The decade 1871-80 witnessed huge development in matters of education.

These years marks the opening of new chapter in History of education of Hyderabad state⁴. Mir Mahboob Ali khan Bahadur declared in a proclamation: "Nothing will afford the greater pleasure than to see my people living in peace and prosperity and engaged in development of source of wealth, in the acquisition of knowledge and utilization of the arts and sciences, so that by their efforts the country may rise to high state of enlightenment and the state derives benefit of support from knowledge and intelligence."⁵

The object of Primary Education System was to remove illiteracy from all cases of His Exalted Highness' subjects and to make it serve as a stepping stone for advanced studies in Secondary Schools, with this aim, the entire curriculum of studies in Hyderabad State Schools was overhauled during the year 1330 Fasli / 1920-21 and the curriculum had been made more elastic⁶.

Origins:

The very first step taken towards the formation of an educational system was the establishment of *Darul-ulum* or oriental college⁷ which was started in 1854 at Hyderabad city, with more than 100 students on the roll. The institution was to impart knowledge of oriental lore in the Deccan and to decimate oriental learning through Arabic and Persian. Provisions were also made for instruction in four languages-Urdu, Telugu, Marathi and English.

Initially the education administration was controlled by revenue department till 1869. However a Separate Education Department was established in 1870. Thus the period from 1873 to 1882 was a time of experimentation and expansion for the growth of education. Due to inadequacy of budget grants the expansion was tardy. On the other hand the Christian missionary Schools promoted English education. An English high school at Pathergatti and an Anglo-vernacular Secondary school at Chaderghat were opened in 1870 and 1872. Education became a major Department of Government under Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Bahadur and a budget of Rs. 2,29,000 was sanctioned for 1883-84. High schools were opened at the *subah* head quarters and Middle schools in other important places. The middle school examination was instituted in 1891. A text book committee was established in 1884.

Formulation of Education Policy:

The first educational board had its origin with formation of *Darul-Uloom* in 1854. The most noticeable feature of syllabus was that Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Astronomy formed part of curriculum.⁸ In the beginning English Arabic, Persian,

Telugu and Marathi were taught by a staff of seventeen and every inducement in shape of free fees, prizes and liberal scholarships together with a promise of government job was held out in order to encourage the children and youth for further progress in education. Affiliated to *Darul-Uloom* there were five branch schools one at each gate of the city. Mirza Moosa khan, a special officer, was appointed as secretary to Darul-uloom Board of control and Mr W Wilkinson was appointed as the first Director of Public Instruction.

In 1870 a 'Special Educational Department' was created thereby enhancing the status of the education as a major department by 1883. At this juncture, the government sanctioned Rs. 2.5 lakhs for the department. The number of primary schools increased by 402 in 1883 from 161 compared to three years back. In 1910, Arther Mayew was appointed as educational adviser to the government for two years⁹. He suggested for an expansion of primary and secondary education.

It is found that prior to 1921 (1330 *Fasli*) the government of Nizam state followed a policy of rapid expansion of primary education¹⁰. The result was both the number of institutions and scholars were more than trebled¹¹. However, there was an inadequate schooling facility. The relative progress may be attributed to the Arther Mayew's recommendation.

But in the Subsequent period, the administration of education department cared more for efficiency rather than expansion. The progress of whole substructure was overhauled by closing down unsuccessful and inefficient experimental primary schools and consolidating the remainder¹².

In spite of this increase, there was demand for the opening of more schools; especially from the more advanced districts like Aurangabad, Nanded, Parbhani, Gulbarga and Warangal¹³. But the Government deemed it necessary first to consolidate and improve the very large number of primary schools which had already been opened, instead of further expansion of schools. Determined efforts were made in this direction and the efficiency of management and standard of teaching in these schools were very much raised. The result of this process was a few unsuccessful experimental and private schools were closed. As a matter of principle, private schools were given every possible encouragement. Such schools were visited by the Inspecting Officers and if found working properly, they were given grants-in-aid in the beginning and afterwards converted into Local Fund Schools. The number of schools up to the standard of public schools were 1,082 with 31,570 pupils¹⁴ at the end of 1339 *Fasli*. To state briefly in this decade, there had been improvement of educational

efficiency at the primary level. It had proved to be very expensive but the generosity of the Nizam's Government was very helpful in the achievement of this laudable objective.

In June, 1947 Compulsory Primary Education was introduced in ten selected areas, viz., the City of Hyderabad, three *Subah* headquarters of Warangal, Aurangabad and Gulbarga, two district headquarters of Bidar and Mahbubnagar, two towns of Kushtagi in Raichur district and Miryalguda in Nalgonda district and 2 villages in Mahabubnagar district Koyalkonda and Neknur in Bid district. It was planned that in the first year of introduction of compulsory education, boys of 6-8 years of age should be brought under the compulsion and that in subsequent years, the age of compulsion should be extended up to the age of 11 years thereby bringing all boys of 6-11 years of age under compulsion.

Spread:

Before the State Government took an initiative, Christian missionaries already started playing a major role in the promotion of education. The St. George's Grammar School and All Saints High school were in existence from 1834 and 1855 respectively. St George was founded by the Church of England for European children, which was later expanded to admit other 'suitable' children¹⁵. All Saints was established to cater to the needs of His Highness the Nizam's Army staff. Later its doors were opened to children of all castes and communities without distinction.

The first English public school in Hyderabad was opened in 1834 by a clergyman of the Church of England, followed shortly after by a Roman Catholic school. An Arabic and Persian school was also founded in the city about the same time by the first Amir-i-kablr, a liberal patron of learning, and himself a mathematician of no mean order¹⁶.

The following were the details of schools in 1322 Fasli (1912):

Agency	Upper Primary		Lower Primary		Total	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Government	105	10,800	3	194	108	10,994
Local Fund	4	408	579	24,839	583	25,247
Sarf-i-khas	11	1,278	26	1,127	37	2,405
Aided	4	281	116	4,387	120	4,668
Un Aided	4	529	15	501	19	1,030
Total	128	13,296	739	31,648	867	44,344

The income from fee was 24,259 in 1321 *Fasli* and rupees 24,262 in 1322 *Fasli*. The cost of education was rupees 2,74,332 in 1323 *Fasli* as against rupees 2,43,472 in 1322 *Fasli* and out of the total cost, the Nizam's Government bore Rs.82,68,817. The examinations of upper primary schools were held in Aurangabad and Warangal *Subahs* solely by the Inspector of respective *Subahs* and the boys who pass the examination were promoted to the middle standard for further studies. The following were the details of primary schools and different agencies for the years 1322 *Fasli* to 1324 *Fasli*;

Agency	1322 <i>Fasli</i>		1323 <i>Fasli</i>		1324 <i>Fasli</i>	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Government	116	11539	121	15284	141	12447
Local Fund	613	26825	617	30236	627	27277
Sarf-i-khas	38	2541	44	2935	44	2840
Aided	158	7298	161	8475	193	7256
Un Aided	22	1332	26	2328	38	1465
Total:	47	49535	969	59258	1043	51285

In continuation following were the details of schools under various agencies for 1325 *Fasli* to 1328 *Fasli*;

Agency	1322 <i>Fasli</i>		1323 <i>Fasli</i>		1324 <i>Fasli</i>	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
Government	116	11539	121	15284	141	12447
Local Fund	613	26825	617	30236	627	27277
Sarf-i-khas	38	2541	44	2935	44	2840
Aided	158	7298	161	8475	193	7256
Un Aided	22	1332	26	2328	38	1465
Total:	47	49535	969	59258	1043	51285

From the above table-1 and 2 it shows there was raise of 74 schools and 7973 pupils in 1324 *Fasli*. Further, it is clear that there had been raise in all of 1,324 schools and 48,017 pupils. The steps had been taken by Education Department during the year 1326 *Fasli*, towards the expansion improvement of primary education had summarized as:

- (a) The reorganization of the Shahi Primary School so as to provide them with an adequate staff of properly qualified teachers with improved salaries.

- (b) The conversion of thriving Local Fund Schools into Shahi Schools with the scale of staff and salaries sanctioned for Government schools and
- (c) The opening of Local Fund Schools for the experimental type in accordance with the Scheme formulated by Mr. Mayhew¹⁷

Innovative Methods & Training:

A new experiment was tried in these schools in 1343 *Fasli* by the introduction of Project Method, hand work, gardening, physical education were taught and school museum was opened. Attempts were being made to organize the lower section of selected primary schools on Project Method, the Montessori and Kindergarten Principles. Mr. Ahmed Hussein Khan, Inspector of Divisional Schools, Warangal had deputed in this connection in 1343 *Fasli*, to Punjab to see various schools, in which vocational education was combined with literacy education and to study the Project Method which had been introduced in some schools in that province¹⁸.

The Primary Education in local vernaculars was provided everywhere in the dominions with parallel classes in Hindustani. Some Muslim boys whose mother tongue was the language of their district joined Telugu or Marathi classes, while there were some Hindu boys whose parents prefer them to join the Hindustani class and the divisions were linguistic rather than based on religion.¹⁹

For the successful expansion / reorganization of primary education, an efficient system of teachers training was needed, for this purpose to give expert advice, guidance to the superintendents of various 'normal schools' and to coordinate the work of these schools Mr. Sajjad Mirza, M.A., had appointed to inspect the schools. In addition to his duties as principal of 'Teachers' Training College', he had to inspect all the Normal Schools annually and to advise the Education Department on all questions affecting the training of the teachers²⁰.

Attendance Officers were working but separate Office of Special Officer for Compulsory Education had been abolished. The pupils in the areas of Compulsory Education were supplied with books and stationery free of charge. More than 73% of children under the age group of 6-8 years were brought under the Compulsory Education during the first year of its introduction²¹. The medium of instruction in Hyderabad state up to 1948 was mainly Urdu and English for all stages of education. At the end of September 1948, there were 6,300 Primary Schools and 3, 97,668 pupils, thus an increase of 1,972 schools and 91,887 scholars. The total expenditure on Primary Education in 1947-48 was Rs.105

lakhs and the number of teachers employed in primary schools was 13,940.

Conclusion:

Despite, low income, poverty levels, socio-economic inequalities, low standard of living were constraints of educational development. Educational development in the Nizams' Hyderabad state was on equal footing with the other princely states in India and neighbouring region of Telugu speaking Andhra of Madras Presidency. By and large, education ushered socio-economic-cultural transformation in Hyderabad state.

Endnotes:

Note: *Fasli* year means period of 12 months from July to June. Adding 590 to *Fasli* year comes to Gregorian calendar corresponding. (Gregorian year for *Fasli* year intermittently used in this article).

¹Sheila Raj, *Medievalism to Modernism, Socio-Economic and Cultural of Hyderabad-1869-1911*, Bombay Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1987, p.1.

²Syed Hussain Bilagrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of His Highness Nizam Dominions*, The Times of India Press, Bombay: 1883, Vol.II, p.207.

³"Hyderabad: Compulsory Education was Nizam's Concept" Deccan Chronicle, Hyderabad Jul 19, 2017.

⁴Imperial Gazetteer of India, (Provincial Series, Hyderabad State, Superintendent government Printing, Calcutta: 1909), p.14.

⁵Fazal Mohammad Khan, *Report of Public instruction and Education for the year fasli 1350*, Printed at Central government Press, Hyderabad:1942, p.8.

⁶*Report on Public Instruction in H.H the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1330 Fasli/1920-21*, Central Government Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1923, p.28.

⁷Sheila Raj, *Op.Cit.*, p.240.

⁸Salarjung to Captain Tylor, August 7, 1856, *Salarjung Papers*, A.P State Archives.

⁹Motkuri Venkatanarayana *Historical Factors in the Process of Educational Deprivation of Children: The Case of Telangana Region of Nizam's Hyderabad State*, (Online at [https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/48508/MPRA Paper No. 48508](https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/48508/MPRA_Paper_No._48508), posted 22 Jul 2013 08:58 UTC) .

¹⁰It is observed from the 1931 *Census Report Nizam Dominions Hyderabad State.*, Vol XXIII, Part-1, Government central Press, Hyderabad:1933.

¹¹Census Report.(1931) *Nizam's Dominions*, Hyderabad State, Part-I, Government Central Press ,Hyderabad, 1933.

¹²*Ibid.* p.16.

¹³Ghulam Ahmed Khan, *H.E.H Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad State)*, part-I, Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1933, p.214.

¹⁴*Ibid.* p.214.

¹⁵Sheila Raj, *Op.Cit.*, p.24.

¹⁶Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol-13, Online, , Online Library, Great Britain India Office, pp.35-47.

¹⁷*Report on Public Instruction in H.H the Nizam's Dominions for 1324 Fasli/ 1914-1915*, Central Jail Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1916, p.12.

¹⁸*Report on public instruction in H.H the Nizam's Dominions for 1327 Fasli/ 1917-1918*, Central Jail Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1919, p.27.

¹⁹*Report on public instruction in H.H the Nizam's Dominions for 1338 Fasli/ 1928- 1929*, Central Jail Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1932, p.39.

²⁰*Report on Public instruction in H.H the Nizam's Dominions for 1347 Fasli/ 1937 - 1938*, Central Jail Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1938, p.32.

²¹*Ibid.* p.25.

**Gendered Anomalies and 19th Century Social Reforms:
Kandukuri Rajyalakshmi and Girls Education in Madras
Presidency**

N. Kanakarathnam

The cause of women was a significant ingredient of the nineteenth century social reforms in India. The reformers were eager to liberate women from the evils of sati, child marriage, enforced widowhood and polygamy. They thought education can liberate the women from these vices and launched a vigorous campaign in favour of girl's education. Initially, the leaders of the social reform movement, who raised women's issues, were mostly men to be joined by women later and the same was true in respect of colonial Andhra too. The foremost social reformer from Andhra was Kandukuri Veeresalingam. His wife Kandukuri Rajyalakshmi, following the footsteps of her husband took to social reform with conviction. She worked hard for the upliftment of women. According to her, vernacular education should be the main instrument for social reforms and a pillar for a regenerated society purged of its evil ways. Towards this, she took active interest in the establishment of schools and brought hope to many child widows. The present paper ponders into the efforts of Kandukuri Rajyalakshmi towards the cause of women's progress in the nineteenth century Andhra society.

India of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw women questioning the irrational traditions and liberating themselves from age old customs. Thus, the period belongs to women... women, who fought against the social evils, women who learned to read and write, women who as widows dared to remarry, women who along with men participated in the nationalist movement and went to jails. The Andhra region¹ was no exception to this. The region has been site of significant struggles during this time, struggles in which women were perceived as playing an important role and struggled where they were indubitably at the helm. Women used the spaces that opened up in the public sphere to push forth their demands for progress and change in the private sphere. One such woman who fought for changes in the lives of fellow women was Kandukuri Rajyalakshmi. The first thing that women did when they came into the reform movement was to set up schools for girls, recognizing the political importance of education, particularly as an enabling force in spreading the ideology of reform. In Andhra, there was also a shift from English education to Telugu, a shift that was intrinsically political, was effected by women who were becoming increasingly active in the field of education. In this regard, Rajyalakshmi has done a pioneering effort in setting up schools for girls with missionary zeal.²

Born on November 5, 1851 at Kanteru village in West Godavari district, Rajyalakshmi was the first woman from the Andhra region to plunge into the work of social reform, women's education, and widow remarriage. But the life and efforts of Rajyalakshmi cannot be read in isolation without the reference to the support rendered by her husband Kandukuri Veeresalingam, the foremost social reformer of Andhra. As such a cursory look at the commendable work done by Veeresalingam is necessary as Rajyalakshmi was influenced by him and actively participated in the reform activities of her husband.

Kandukuri Veeresalingam (16 April 1848 – 27 May 1919) is widely regarded as "Father of Renaissance" in Telugu society and literature. Kandukuri, as he was popularly called by his surname, was a great social reformer, a man of action, a bold journalist, and a pioneering and progressive writer of Andhra. Veeresalingam was born to Subbarayudu and Poornamma in an orthodox Brahmin family of Rajahmundry. He fought against the very orthodoxy that was nurtured and sustained by his community as part of age-old customs. His main seat of activity was the town of Rajamahendravaram (Rajahmundry), on the banks of river Godavari. He was one of the early social reformers from Madras Presidency, who defied his times, advocated girl's education, remarriage and rehabilitation of widows, which was bitterly opposed by the society, by the educated too, during his time. He inspired generations of reformers and purposive writers, and continues to do so.

The Andhra society during that time was suffocating from medieval orthodox customs and superstitions. Veeresalingam awakened it from its pathetic situation. He established a girl's school at Dhavaleswaram, Rajahmundry in 1874 to encourage girl's education. Another school for girls was established by him at Innispeta in Rajamundry in 1884. The *Hitakarini School* that was upgraded by Veeresalingam in 1907 was the first co-education school in Andhra. The important feature of the new school was it started admitting children from lower castes too who were hitherto denied this opportunity. The students were successfully trained to treat them well irrespective of gender and caste. It had more than 500 students in his life time itself. "I was surprised to learn that even in the Christian school, they were not admitting Mala (community) children if they were not Christians," wrote Veeresalingam in his autobiography.³

The girl's schools were initially opened in Madras in 1837, Mysore in 1842, Travancore in 1864 and Hyderabad in 1896, but all of them were set up by western Christian missionaries. Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra also opened a school in 1848 for the girls of Brahmin and other intermediate communities, and another school

in 1851 for *dalits* and *ati-sudras*.⁴ These were by local initiatives led by Phule. So were Veeresalingam's schools.

Inspired by Brahmo Samaj, Veeresalingam opposed idolatry, and constructed a 'Brahmo Mandir' in 1887 at Rajahmundry. He opposed superstitions and wrote and worked against them. Veeresalingam started widow homes, arranged and funded their remarriages, education and rehabilitation, and published journals focussing on women's education, welfare and enlightenment. Though born in an orthodox Brahmin family, Veeresalingam wrote plays such as *Prahlada* (1885), *Satya Harischandra* (1886) criticizing the attitude of Brahmin priests. He also wrote and published satires (*prahasanas*) about social, cultural, degeneration etc, prevalent in the name of religion and caste too. He ridiculed and exposed cheating and deception by priests.⁵ He wrote and published a book *Satyaraja's Travels* in which he exposed how women were exploited and cheated.⁶ Among his copious writings are his autobiography *Sweeyacharitra* published in 1910 and 1915.

Veeresalingam, exposed to modernity and English education, was inspired by the ideas of Raja Rammohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, and Keshab Chandra Sen and by the principles of Brahmo Samaj. He is considered as "Raja Rammohan Roy of Andhra". M.G. Ranade felicitated Veeresalingam in Madras in 1898 and named him as "Vidyasagar of the South India".⁷

In all these activities, spread over 50 years, the frail and ailing man faced the wrath not only of his community, but of the larger society of those times. He faced litigation, false court cases, financial difficulties, ex-communication, and even physical attacks. He faced all of them undeterred with his wife Rajyalakshmi standing firmly behind him in all his endeavours.

In 1861, Veeresalingam married Rajyalakshmi when he was thirteen and Rajyalakshmi was nine years old. Rajyalakshmi, born with the maiden name Bapamma, was renamed after marriage, as was quite common in those days. She lost her mother in her infancy, was brought up by her maternal uncles who had given her formal primary education as a child. Veeresalingam after marriage gave her further education, and made her the first teacher in the girls' school he founded, at a time when no woman was ready to come forward as a teacher. The couple was ostracised, troubled, and harassed for their reformist zeal but they stood up together until last. Rajyalakshmi, only four years younger than her husband, was gifted with a strong constitution and uniformly good health. Both of which stood her in good stead in undergoing the continued stresses and strains incidental to the role of a

reformer's wife. She started taking the responsibility of celebrating widow marriages and assisted Veeresalingam in performing these marriages in midst of strong opposition. She also protested against caste system, prostitution and *devadasi* system.

There was a lot more than the ordinary husband-wife relationship between Veeresalingam and Rajyalakshmi. It was a rare partnership that covered every detail of life, lasting over half-a-century. Rajyalakshmi threw herself wholeheartedly into all the social battles fought by her husband. She did not mind the scars, which were by no means infrequent. She refused to be deterred by any of the threats of social ostracism by her friends and relatives alike.

Rajyalakshmi not merely acquiesced passively in his campaigns, as any devoted Hindu wife might be expected to do, but gave him all the strength at her command by active involvement in reforms. There was nothing that she would not willingly do for the sacred cause. Water-carrier and cook, midwife and nurse, babysitter and foster-mother – all these roles she played, taking them all in her stride.

The couple had no children of their own. Veeresalingam wrote that he had no particular desire to have his own son. Thus, Veeresalingam and Rajyalakshmi adopted a boy born to one Sriramulu Gogulapati, who married a widow, and gave up the child born of his first wife. He requested Veeresalingam to adopt him. Rajyalakshmi desired to adopt him, and so was adopted.⁸

Rajyalakshmi was more like Savitribai Phule as a comrade-in-arms of her husband. She defied the society and faced the wrath of the community. When Rajyalakshmi died in her sleep in 1910, Veeresalingam was upset. He narrated about her life of multi-sided suffering because of his activities.

Veeresalingam narrates some episodes about her in his autobiography. "Rajyalakshmi used to warmly receive any strange widow who arrived at our home for help. She used to give them food, clothes, shelter etc even before I arrived from outside. As soon as I entered my home, she would tell me with a smiling face: 'good news for you' and showed me the new arrival. She used to give them literacy and education. If the young widows erred by ignorance or past bad habits, she would correct them like a mother in a secret manner without letting others to know about it."⁹

"Rajyalakshmi had set up an orphanage for destitute women, *Patita Yuvasi Rakshana Shala*, in front of our house for such widows and deserted women. She used to look after that work, and tried to rescue them from their plight and their past fallen ways. There were five such women who were rescued during her lifetime."¹⁰

“There was a brahmin widow who came to our place being pregnant. Rajyalakshmi took care of her, sent her to the Christian Maternity Hospital in our town. When a child was delivered, the woman tried to give up her child to the hospital staff. Rajyalakshmi, who came to know of that, rushed to the hospital and brought both the woman and the child to our home. Later the woman left behind the child with us and left to her parental home. Rajyalakshmi named the child as Premavati (beloved child) and brought her up.”¹¹

“One day during a summer, when I was away at school, a man of *panchama* caste was found unconscious, he was found lying in sand that was too hot...My wife noticed it, and asked for help if any passer-by would help to shift him to the *arugu* (a sitting place) in the front portion of our home. But none cooperated, not even *sudras*, because he was a Mala by caste. Then our friend Kanaparti Sriramulu was found going that way... My wife and he held him on either side, lifted and shifted him, and extended necessary help to him.”¹²

Rajyalakshmi shunned idolatry, and took to *ekeswaropasana* (worship of a single god). She wrote suitable songs and sang them. The only prayer hall exclusively for women was set up by her in Rajahmundry. Nowhere else including in Madras city such a hall was existing. Rajyalakshmi along with other women pioneer reformers of Andhra like Somarla Bangaramma and Sattiraju Syamalamba took initiative and brought Prarthana Samaj into existence at Rajamundry and Eluru in 1911 which mostly encouraged devotional congregations.¹³ She composed songs wherein she expressed Brahmo ideas, her travel experiences, and her opinions on various social issues. They were published in the form of a book titled *Geetamulu*.¹⁴

In 1907, Veeresalingam took over another school – National School – at Rajahmundry that was being run by poet-teacher Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham, his friend who desired to venture into nationalist journalism.¹⁵ Veeresalingam worked hard to run it and develop it into a high school. Rajyalakshmi contributed equally to develop the school. She obtained necessary permissions and contributions for a bigger building. She introduced new features like a rest and relaxation room for girls during leisure periods. It was run as a co-education school up to school final grade. Many warned her for school being made co-education as it was customary for girls to be married by age 8, and early pregnancies were common. Despite attendant problems and risks, Rajyalakshmi ran it successfully. She felt it would help cultivate in men the need to respect women as equals. It was free education for women. Following this example, later, the colleges in Kakinada town also started admitting women and made it co-educational.

This was a great achievement of Rajyalakshmi in the field of education.

Rajyalakshmi also opened an orphanage-cum-school for widows, which had more than 150 inmates at one time who used to create many problems and need to be managed. Six teachers were engaged, including three women.¹⁶ Rajyalakshmi took special care about this school.

Veeresalingam and Rajyalakshmi performed the marriage of Sarojini Naidu, a Bengali and famous poet and freedom fighter with Telugu physician Dr. Govindarajulu Naidu in 'Brahmo Mandir' the Kandukuri couple had set up at Rajahmundry. It was a marriage between persons of different castes, regions and languages.

Rajyalakshmi along with Veeresalingam toured Bombay on a mission to raise funds for the social activities they were engaged for decades, including an orphanage-cum-school for widows that ran into financial crisis. Rajyalakshmi also accommodated concubines, who were exploited by the *nauch* system in the orphanage-cum-schools, educated them and arranged rehabilitation.

Widow remarriage was not an approved social practice during those days. Veeresalingam opposed this practice vehemently and to prove his point that widows were not prohibited from remarrying by the religion, he quoted extensively verses from the Hindu *dharmastras*. Veeresalingam and Rajyalakshmi started a Remarriage Association and entrusted the job of finding young men who were willing to marry widows to their students. With their efforts, the first widow remarriage was conducted on 11th December 1881. What did it mean for a woman in a traditional society to take up the cause of orthodox widow remarriage? In most of these marriages Brahmins would refuse to cook and Rajyalakshmi would carry water from the Godavari and personally cook for those marriages.¹⁷ The widows who arrived at her door were often pregnant. She would help in the childbirth and take care of the child if the mother chose to remarry. These were commitments that Veeresalingam was not even expected to make, but Rajyalakshmi made spontaneously and willingly, perhaps while recognising that reproductive labour is critical to the sustenance of reform. She worked tirelessly for widow remarriage braving social boycott.

Rajyalakshmi died on 11th August 1910 and left behind her a rich legacy of social awakening. Women's issues became the primary concern behind her efforts. Her intense reform activity developed the much required awareness among women of the

Andhra society. Her efforts, over a period of time, eased out various socio-religious restrictions forced on women. They took to education and later joined various professions. Her death left many a women with void and gave a severe blow to the reform activities in Andhra. But the sapling of reform which she planted grew and spread its branches throughout the contemporary society.

Endnotes:

¹Andhra region corresponding to the present day Andhra Pradesh State was part of Madras Presidency under the British colonial rule.

²Vasanth Kannabiran and Kalpana Kannabiran, "Citizenship and its Discontents: A Political History of Women in Andhra" in Bharati Ray, Ed., *Women of India: Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods*, SAGE, New Delhi, 2005, p.570.

³D. Anjaneyulu, *Builders of Modern India: Kandukuri Veeresalingam*, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1972.

⁴Jyotiba Phule, *Gulamgiri*, Sec 15 on Education, Vani Prakashan, Delhi, 2018.

⁵D. Anjaneyulu, *Op.Cit.*, p.143.

⁶*Ibid.*, p.138

⁷*Ibid.*, p.62.

⁸*Ibid.*, p.143.

⁹*Ibid.*, p.181-182.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³K. Janaki, "Role of Women in Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (1905-1948)", Unpublished PhD thesis, *Osmania University*, Hyderabad, 1986, p.66.

¹⁴Akkiraju Ramapathi Rao (ed.), *Veeresalingam Rachanalu - Sweeyacharithramu*, Vol. I, Vijayawada, 1982, p.55-56.

¹⁵V. Ramakrishna., *Social Reform Movement in Andhra*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, p.235.

¹⁶K. Janaki, *Op.Cit.*, p.148

¹⁷Vasanth Kannabiran and Kalpana Kannabiran, *Op.Cit.*, p.567.

The Hill Paddy Cultivation in Cochin State

Pratheep. P. S.

Introduction:

The erstwhile Cochin Native State was a feudatory State under the British regime situated on the southwest coast of India. It was bounded on the north, northwest and northeast by the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency; on the southwest by the Arabian Sea; and on the south by the State of Travancore. The State was divided into three well-defined parts or zones-the hills, the plains and the seaboard. The State enjoys the benefit both of the southwest and northeast monsoons.

The economy of Cochin was predominantly agrarian, though Cochin did not produce sufficient food grains for the consumption of its people. Rice formed the staple food of the people and the principal agricultural produce. The Land, the primary agent of production and the chief source of income of the people played a vital role in the agricultural economy of the State. It formed the basis of the social organization and controlled the social relations. The British regime introduced a series of changes in the land tenure system. Commodification of land, commercialization of agriculture and monetisation of the economy had brought vital changes in the status of the landowners. The government of Cochin introduced land reforms and enhanced land tax in accordance with the colonial demand. As the land revenue empowered the hands of the Raja and his suzerain policies favouring the expansion of agricultural production were pursued.

The *Janmie* sown about 60 percent of the cultivated land and the remaining 40 percent owned by the State including the entire wasteland.¹ The ownership of land vested with big *Janmies* was called *Puravaka* lands comprising of large temples, *Namboothiri* families, and families related with the royal palace and chieftains.² The cultivators of these lands were in hardship, on account of the uncontrollable powers inflicted by the *Janmies* over their land and the negative attitude of the State to mitigate the situation.

Food Shortage in Cochin State:

Cochin was a typical agricultural State, the majority of the population being dependant on agriculture for a living. Rice is the staple food of the people and the paddy that was grown in the State was sufficient only for five months in the year.³ Cochin had to rely on the rest of India and Burma for the supply of rice.⁴ The precarious position of the State was not realised until the end of World War I. There was strict Government control of imports from Burma due to military reasons. The Government of India imposed restrictions on the imports of rice and paddy from Burma resulting

in an acute crisis in the food situation of Cochin. It was only through an extraordinary effort on the part of the Government, the people of Cochin and the Government of India that the crisis was overcome.⁵ The imports from Burma never stopped, but the quota allowed to Cochin was much less than her normal requirements. The rice and paddy imported under this quota regime supplemented by the purchase of locally grown paddy just enabled Cochin to overcome the crisis.

The Cochin State was a food deficient area due to various reasons. The built-in agricultural problems of the State were further exasperated by the inter-state restriction on rice trade imposed during World War I.⁶ M/s Walker & Co, was authorised by the Government to import rice from Burma as an immediate relief measure.⁷ But the arrangement was failing to produce the desired results due to the deadlock in getting the required quantity from Burma. The Government of Cochin introduced rice control in Cochin State in 1919 as a relief measure. For the purpose of storage and distribution of rice, a new department called Department of Civil Supplies was created.⁸ The Government also opened 'Relief Kitchens' in the towns of Ernakulam and Trichur,⁹ where free food was supplied daily to the needy. The outbreak of World War II in September 1939 was accompanied by a galloping price rise of all essential commodities. Government's intervention by price control and similar measures, therefore, became imperative and, as a first step in this direction, a notification to control and fix the prices of rice and kerosene oil was published on 12th September 1939.¹⁰

The World War II made the food situation worse in Cochin, especially with the embargo on foreign ships. The entry of Japan into the war (7th December 1941) and the possibility of an attack on Burma made it imperative that a more vigilant watch should be exercised. The *Diwans* (the Head of the State institution) of Cochin and Travancore met in a conference as a result of which some important decisions were taken. As per that the two sister States should take joint action to meet the food situation. Cochin and Travancore States agreed to form into a single unit for purposes of the approach to the Madras and Central Governments for help on matters relating to food. In view of the Madras Government's Order prohibiting the export of rice except on permit, both Travancore and Cochin should introduce a similar measure. It was further agreed that both the States would take suitable measures to help each other in the event of a sudden food crisis.¹¹ It is necessary to mention the good services rendered by Ms. Volkart Brothers, Cochin who were the chief agents of Cochin Government, for the purchase and transport of food grains from Sind and other North Indian places. It needs hardly be stated that the timely arrival of food stuffs from foreign stations was of the

utmost importance in tiding over the acute food situation. Relief measures enabled the State to overcome the food shortage.

The Government also took some steps on a war footing to boost the agricultural production. To enhance food production, the Government decided to bring more land under cultivation. Rising to the occasion, the Government of Cochin had resolved to restructure its land policy. The new land policy had three motives of (i) bringing more land under cultivation, (ii) to attract the younger generation to agriculture by assigning them newly cleared forest lands and thereby find a solution to the issue of unemployment; and (iii) to attract the farmers to the 'virgin' lands and thereby abandon the traditional fields, which had become quite unproductive and infertile due to constant use.¹²

In 1918-19, the total extent of cultivation was 5,02,230 while in 1941-42, it was 5,09,733.04 acres. Between 1918-19 and 1941-42, only 7503.04 acres of land were additionally brought under cultivation. For 1943-44, the State's quota from outside were 89,200 tons, comprising 43,700 tons of rice and 45,500 tons of wheat and dry grains against requirements of about 1,28,000 tons of rice.¹³ In order to meet the situation, the State-wide rationing scheme was introduced in 1943.¹⁴ The Government determined to bring more land under cultivation through the hill paddy scheme. A detailed plan was chalked out by the Government in order to attract the unemployed youth to agriculture.¹⁵

Hill Paddy Cultivation Scheme:

It was realised that, under these conditions the State could never hope to become self-sufficient in food supply. The exact position of agriculture in the Cochin economy was accepted and appreciated by its successive rulers. The Government of Cochin took sincere initiatives in agriculture and the well-being of its agricultural population. But it was probably not fully realised the intensity of food deficiency in Cochin State till 1918.¹⁶ The bitter lesson of 1918 immediately bore fruit. An experiment was started by the Government to make a State self-sufficient in food availability, bring forest reserve lands not required for forestry purposes.

The Japanese occupation of Burma was completed by January 1942. In March, 1942 the then *Diwan* of Cochin, A.F.W. Dixon convened a conference consisting of the Minister for Rural Development, the Secretary to Government and the Heads of Departments most directly involved with the subject. The conference concluded that every effort should be made to provide additional land wherever possible for food cultivation. The meeting also authorised the Conservator of Forests to take steps to immediate leasing of State owned lands within the reserved forests.

It should be suitable for the cultivation of paddy of all varieties, including hill paddy, tapioca, banana, etc.¹⁷ The conference also decided to take immediate steps to release more land for cultivation on a temporary basis for raising crops particularly hill paddy. In order to boost up agricultural production, the Government of Cochin State had decided to have extensive farming, even by resorting to Hill Paddy cultivation. H.J. Walmesley, the member, represented the plantation sector in the Cochin Legislative Council suggested the idea before the Council. He convinced the Council regarding the prospects and possibilities of large scale production of paddy in the forest areas. The Government accepted the proposal of H. J. Walmesley, being an experienced planter, he had himself cultivated paddy and tapioca over 300 acres of rubber area.

The Government accepted the proposal in toto and chalked out a scheme to clear as much of the forest area as possible to cultivate food crops. The Government presumed that the assigning of land to the unemployed people could enhance agricultural production in one hand and solve the problem of unemployment on the other. For this a separate department was created, *viz.*, Hill Paddy Department.¹⁸ The first item in the programme of Hill Paddy operations was forest clearance. On 1st December, 1942, the work of clearance of the forest areas was commenced. The undergrowth was cleared first followed by clear felling of trees. Owing to the shortage of axe-men, the Government faced difficulty to carry on clear felling in the whole area caused initial delay in hill paddy cultivation. By the end of April 1943, an area of approximately 12,000 acres was cleared of forest growth and got ready for cultivation after a preliminary burning.¹⁹ The areas cleared were given in the following Table 1.

Table 1	
Block-Wise Distribution of Hill Paddy Cultivation	
Block	Area/ Acres
The Mupliyam Block	2500
The Kormala Block	600
The Anamalais Block	175
The Ollukkara Block	1350
The Killannur Block	5000
The Nelluvaya Block	1900
The Kanjirassery Block	475
Total	12000

Source: *Cochin Information*, Vol.II, No.6, June 1943, The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1943, p.16.

Gangs after gangs of *coolies* (labours) were recruited from Trissur and surrounding areas and sent to the forests of Mupliyam where the work was first started. Elaborate arrangements were made for accommodation, food and medical facilities for the *coolies*, and also for supply of implements, and the work started in right earnest on the 1st of December 1942. One possible threat that would follow consequent on forest clearance was soil erosion and to prevent this all possible precautions were taken. The trees on the top of the hill are kept intact. Belts of vegetation across the steep slopes of the hills are also maintained to prevent soil erosion. Contour trenches, drains and even levelling and terracing in possible areas are also resorting to. Belts of cover crops would also be laid out during the rainy season.²⁰

Sowing of paddy started with the first showers in April, 1943 and with the occasional rains received in the latter half of April and early in May. By the middle of May, an area of 2,000 acres was put under *puravaka* paddy. The season received a good monsoon, a crop of four to five lakhs of *paras*²¹ of paddy received from the areas sown. Side by side with paddy other crops like Chama and Ragi and pulses like Red Gram, Black Gram and Green Gram too have been sown.²²

It was decided that direct cultivation of the hill paddy area by the Government would be done only for one year. The Government realised that the Government supervision and Departmental execution had not produced the desired result, and that the hill paddy area could best be leased out for cultivation. The Hill Paddy Cultivation scheme as a Government enterprise was, therefore stopped. By the end of 1943, the Government ordered that all the hill paddy areas should be given on lease.²³ This cultivation might retain for two or three years and after that the regions might be reforested as determined by the Forest Department. The scheme would be working directly under the control of the Government.²⁴ The Government decided to lease out the entire area to agriculturists for a period of three years on very favourable terms and conditions. The difficult portion of the work of clearing the hills was done by the Government because an ordinary ryots could not undertake due to heavy expenditure. The Government also stipulated that no improvements of a permanent nature should be effected on the lands.

A specific type of paddy varieties like *peruvaka* and *modan*²⁵ were used for cultivation in hill areas. The *peruvaka*, or the hill rice, was reportedly grown on the patches of the forest-clad hills on the basis of rotation. The other variety of paddy, *modan* was grown on the low hills mainly in the taluks of Mukundapuram, Trichur and Talapilli in Cochin State. For the cultivation of *peruvaka*, the patches were cleared of all jungle and burnt. Both

peruvaka and *modan* paddy seeds were sowed in the month of April and the harvest did reap in the month of September. This type of cultivation involved in large areas of clearing of forest badly affected the forest resources.

The scheme was opened with great hopes, as it would become one of the chief sources to enhance the food availability.²⁶ Side by side with paddy, other crops like chama and ragi and pulses like red gram, black gram and green gram too had been grown. Red gram mixed with paddy has been sown over 400 acres and green gram and black gram over 100 acres. The most important subsidiary crop is tapioca, planted 5000 acres of tapioca by the end of 1943.²⁷

The Government anticipated a yield of 4,00,000 *paras* of paddy from 5,000 acres of land on which paddy was cultivated. The yield turned out to be poor as weather conditions were unfavourable and the monsoon rains were untimely and unprecedented. Moreover, direct supervision was found difficult as the lands prepared for cultivation were in out-of-the-way places.²⁸ In addition to the lands already acquired for cultivation in 1942, new addition to the extent of 8240 acres were arranged by the Forest Department early in 1119 M.E. (1943-44) and the said land was handed over to the Hill Paddy Department for direct cultivation. Now, the total area available for cultivation would come to 20240 acres.

In connection with the lease of hill paddy areas for cultivation, the Government needed the advice and assistance of non-official public in parcelling out the land to several applicants. Accordingly, the Government constituted an Advisory Committee for several blocks of hill paddy areas.²⁹ People realized the necessity for growing food crops on an unprecedented scale and every bit of cultivable land, including large areas of reserve forests was brought under cultivation.³⁰

Conclusion:

The Hill Paddy Cultivation Scheme was entirely a novel initiative in an agricultural operation, involving the clearance of forests on such a huge scale, within a short span of time. The scheme was launched at a critical period when food ceased to be an article obtainable for mere cash. It was the most realistic and visionary attempt made to overcome the food shortage situation caused by the cessation of import of rice from Burma during the World War II. Production of food was the main purpose of the scheme and, therefore, its success should be measured not so much in terms of the money spent as in terms of the food that it would produce at a time of acute distress. The Hill Paddy Scheme was

one of the most fruitful attempts made by the Government of Cochin to bring under cultivation an extensive forest area to augment the food resources of the State when the import of rice from Burma virtually ceased.³¹ It was a huge relief to the people in Cochin State, who faced acute deficiency of food as well as the menace of mounting unemployment during the World War II.

Endnotes:

¹T.C. Varghese, *Agrarian Change and Economic Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960*, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1970, p. 48.

²Ibid.

³*The Madras States Directory*, 1931, The Pearl Press, Cochin, 1931, p.235.

⁴*Grow More Food in Cochin*, 1945, The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1945, p.1.

⁵Ibid.

⁶The Record of Administration, Diwan T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Part- III, Appendix-III, p.xviii, The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1925 and also see *Malayala Manorama*, dated 20 March 1919.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., Part- III, p. 2.

⁹Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰Report of Administration, *Food Supplies Department for the year 1118* (1942-43), The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1944, p.1.

¹¹Ibid., p.2.

¹²Proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, *Revenue Department (Land Revenue)*, Order R. 4-857/1115, dated 6 December 1939 (RAE).

¹³Proceedings of the Government of His Highness Maharaja of Cochin, 19 June, 1945, RAE, p. 1.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Vide Government Proceedings, No. R-4.857/1115, dated 6 December 1939 (RAE).

¹⁶*Grow More Food in Cochin, Op.Cit.*

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Proceedings of the Government of H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin, *Development Department*, Order D-5-7989/19, dated 11 December 1943.

¹⁹*Cochin Information*, Vol. II, No. 6, June 1943, The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1943, p.16.

²⁰Ibid.,p.17.

²¹A measurement of paddy. One *Para* is approximately equal to 10 Kilograms.

²²*Cochin Information, Op.Cit.*, p.17.

²³*Report of the Committee for Beggar Relief in Cochin State, Development Department*, 2 May 1944, The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1944, p.11.

²⁴Proceedings of the Government of H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin, Order P-13-7964/1118, dated 12 November 1942. (RAE).

²⁵*Modan*, a special variety of hill paddy, tolerant to drought and suited for upland cultivation.

²⁶Proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, *Development Department*, Order D-5-7989/19, dated 11 December 1943. (RAE).

²⁷*Cochin Information*, Vol.II, No. 6, June, 1943, pp.16-17.

²⁸*Cochin Information*, Vol.II, No.12, December, 1943, The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1943, p.4.

²⁹Proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, *Development Department*, Order D.Dis. 9650/19, dated the 17 of February 1944. (RAE).

³⁰*Report of Administration of the Agriculture Department in the Cochin State for the year 1118 M.E. (1942-43)*, The Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, 1944, p. 3.

³¹*Cochin Information*, Vol. II, No. 12, December 1943, pp.4-5.

Excise Revenue in Hyderabad State during the Last Nizam Period

G. Dayakar

The princely State of Hyderabad with its vast area, plentiful resources and a large population, different ethnical and administrative divisions, some larger than the average Indian States, legitimately, entitled it to the traditional name of "the Dominion of His Exalted Highness". It covered an area which was more than the area of England and Scotland put together¹. It was the biggest princely state in the British Empire. The state had an interesting historical background. The founder of the State was Nizam-ul-Mulk. He came to the throne in 1724 A.D. the last ruler of the State was Mir Osman Ali Khan. He came to the throne in 1911 and ended his rule in 1948 A.D. he introduced several reforms for growth of state revenue. He was taken several steps for the development different sectors in the State. He was role model today's Telangana Government. In Hyderabad State excise is one of the best revenue source to the Government.

Abkari or Excise Revenue of the Hyderabad state was derived from the duties imposed on country spirits, foreign spirits, Mohwa flower, *sendhi* (*Kallu*/Toddy), opium, hemp and other intoxicating drugs. The *Sarf-e-Khas* (Crown lands of the Nizam) and the *Paigah Ilaqas* (Jagirs granted to nobles) and many *Jagirdars* (Land holders) possessed Abkari rights which were granted by the Rulers. In 1889 Government tried to abolish the Abkari rights of *Jagirdars* by payment of cash compensations, but the attempt failed. Three years later, however, the Government made a further attempt and succeeds in leasing the rights of *Jagirdars* in the Secunderabad Circle on the payment of annual cash compensation equal to the average of the previous three years Revenues. In pursuance of the recommendations of a commission, the Abkari rights of the *Jagirdars* were abolished altogether in 1909². The control over the *Sarf-e-Khas* and the *Paigahs* was transferred to the *Diwani Ilaqas* (Government lands) in 1905, while an agreement was entered into with the *Paigah* States (*Paigah* principality) whereby the liquor contracts were to be controlled and managed by Government. In the beginning, the Excise Revenue was collected through the "Contract System". The Excise revenue is farmed at auction, by contracts for periods ranging from three to ten years. The chief sources of income are country spirits, toddy and mahua flowers. In the Districts country spirits are manufactured in out-stills, and there is no restriction as to the quantity or strength of liquor. At Secunderabad there is a State distillery. Contracts for drawing and selling of toddy are sold by Taluqs in the Districts, while in the city circle, including Secunderabad and Bollaram, similar arrangements are made, besides which a *nazarana* (Gift)

was levied on toddy shops, and a duty of 4 *annas* (an anna is 6 paise) per pot of 20 seers. The duty on mahua flowers was Rs. 16 per *palla* or three *maunds* (a unit of weight. 1 mound equal to 40 seers)³. Under the contract system the Excise Revenue of a district or taluq was given to a big contractor for a number of years at annual figures. The excise Department was responsible only for the collection of the revenue from the contractors and to check the offences. However, there were number of defects in this system and to rectify them the Amani system or the so-called Madras System was introduced in 1936⁴. In this system, the manufacture of liquor, concentrated in a few central distilleries under close Government supervision, was separated from its sale. The distillery duty was levied on the liquor manufacture and the right of retail vend was sold annually in public auctions by separate shops. As regards the vend of liquor the 'minimum guarantee system' was introduced. As per the system the vend contractor had to guarantee the payment to Government of a minimum amount annually. Government fixed the distillery from which the contractor had to obtain his liquor and the rate at which he was to be supplied at the distillery. The minimum retail sale rate to the public was also fixed⁵. Thus Government was in a position to establish a uniform system of administration regarding Abkari in the beginning of 1936. These reforms increased the revenue from Abkari and brought under control the consumption of intoxicants⁶.

Liquor Shops

The liquor shops are distributed in three circles, Viz., (1) City, (2) Secunderabad, and (3) Districts.

City circle: The city circle consists of most of the hereditary liquor shops. The keepers of these shops were allowed to distil and sell liquor. Government does not interfere with their hereditary rights. The duty was levied on the liquor sold in these shops and the distillation of liquor was supervised by the Government.⁷ These shops were of six kinds.

(i) Hereditary or Nazarana Shops: There were 184 shops of this kind out of these, permanent license for distillation had been issued to 172 *kalals* (Contractors of liquor shops/Gouds) and the remaining 12 have been allowed the right for one or two generations only.

(ii) Non-hereditary or non-Nazarana Shops: There were altogether 30 of this category. In fact these shops were stills, which were worked without any right. In 1317 *Fasli* (1917AD) they were closed, but were subsequently allowed to continue subject to grant of licenses. In order to distinguish these from the hereditary shops, the non-hereditary shops are charged four *annas* monthly per gallon

(about 4.56 Liters) as “*thalbarti*” (liquor fill in the gallon) duty and right of sale.

(iii) Guddi Shops: These are 18 in number. They were old liquor shops for which liquor was supplied from the city still. As usual monthly payments were realised from them by way of a fixed license fee. The payment fixed varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 per shop.

(iv) Rasbandi Shops: These were not old shops; but were opened by order of Taluqdars when the hereditary *kalals* closed their shops owing to increase in duty or to the inability to supply the demand. These were supplied with liquor from the stills outside the city circle and duty was levied on a unit of 96 seers (measure of weight. One seer equal to 0.933 kgs) of liquor equivalent to nearly 20 gallons. Hence the name *Rasbandi*. The number of *rasbandi* shops existed was 39. They are charged a duty of 4 *annas* per gallon of 30 degree under proof and 7 *annas* per gallon as *thalbarti* duty in addition to the fixed duty of Rs. 2-8-0 per gallon of 60 degrees. They are supplied with liquor from the distillery for sale.

(v) Auctioned Shops: These were the shops belonging to the *Diwani* (Government authority), *Sarf-I-Khas* and *Paigah Ilaqas* which have been brought within the city circle owing to the extension of Abkari limits⁸. As the *bythak* (Sitting Room) license fee of these shops was being auctioned formerly these are known as auctioned shops. These shops are supplied with liquor from the distilleries. They were charged 7 *annas* per gallon under proof as *thalbarti* duty in addition to a fixed duty of Rs. 2-8-0 per gallon of 60 degrees. The number of these shops at present is 60.

(vi) Foreign Liquor Shops: there were 11 shops which sold foreign liquor. Foreign liquor or liquor distilled in the Star distillery in the style of foreign liquor was sold in those shops and they were allowed to sell in wholesale or retail. A license fee of Rs. 30 per mensem is levied on these shops. Further, 5 refreshment rooms were licensed to sell liquor and were charged at Rs. 50 each per year as license fee⁹.

(2) Secunderabad circle: The Secunderabad liquor concern was managed on the same amount and guaranteed contract system as in the previous years, by Khan Sahib Dosabhai and Set Mohan Lal. The period of contract was expired at the end of 1338 *Fasli* (1928) The total quantity of liquor issued for consumption amounted to 1,22, 07 gallons London proof in 1336 *Fasli* (1926-27) as against 1,34,651 gallons in 1335 *Fasli* (1925-26). The revenue from the contract for the year of 1337 *Fasli* (1927). amounted to Rs. 10,76,129 as against Rs. 10, 76, 617 in 1335 *Fasli* after deducting Rs. 53,077 (due absence of troops) in 1336 *Fasli* and Rs. 68,724 in 1335 *Fasli*, the net amount credited to Government was Rs.

10,43,052 in 1336 *Fasli* as against Rs. 10,07,893 in 1335 *Fasli*. In addition to the above, Rs. 814 were collected out of the arrears pertaining to the previous years.

(3) **Districts:** The periods of the previous liquor contractors having expired, the liquor contracts of the following districts were let out on contract for ten years, the contract being permanent for 5 years and temporary for the remaining five.

Bhir: The previous contract expired at the end of 1335 *Fasli*. The contract was renewed for ten years, as stated above, the name of the former contractors, Messrs. Rai Sahib Ram Dayal Ghansi Ram and sons and Mr. Chotulal Baban Singh. The duty to the end of 1336 *Fasli* was Rs. 5 per gallon of 25 degrees U.P., but was now changed to Rs. 6-8-0 including *thalbarti*. The annual amount of the contract was increased from Rs. 95, 205 to Rs. 1,20,972, an increase of Rs. 25,767. The minimum guarantee was decreased from 19,025 gallons of 25 degree to 18, 611 gallons of 25 degrees¹⁰.

Gulbarga: The contract was renewed in the name of Khan Sahib Dosabhai contractor on a yearly amount of Rs. 2,80,230, the previous contract amount. Duty was levied at Rs. 6 per gallon of 25 degree including *thalbarti* against Rs. 4-4-0 in the previous lease. The minimum guarantee was reduced from 61,000 to 46,705 gallons.

Raichur: The contract was renewed for ten years in favour of Khan Sahib Dosabhai, contractor, on an annual amount of Rs. 3,50,274 as in the previous contract. Duty was levied at Rs. 6 per gallon including *thalbarti*, against Rs. 4-6-0 in the previous lease. And the minimum guarantee was reduced from 77,000 to 58,379 gallons of 25 degrees.

Osmanabad: Management on the Amani system as an experiment for 2 years was considered unsuccessful owing to the unfavourable character of the season and consequent bad crops and poverty of the people. It was therefore decided to manage by contract. The realisation during 1335 *Fasli* under the Amani System has amounted to Rs. 1,33,786 and the contract was granted to Babu Khan and Sons on an annual amount Rs. 1,51,000 with a minimum guarantee of 14,554 gallons of 25 degree U.P Duty was fixed at Rs. 10-6-0.

Bidar: The period of contract having expired, Messrs. Dada Bhai Bhikaji and Co., were given the contract on an annual amount of Rs. 2,06,728. The rate of duty per gallon of 25 degree was increased from Rs. 4-4-0 to Rs. 5-0-0. The minimum guarantee was reduced from 44,000 gallons to 41,346 gallons.

Adilabad: All Taluqs, except Nirmal, were brought under regular management during the year 1336 *Fasli*. These Taluqs had

pot-stills and no guarantee system was in force. The contract, therefore, specified only the amount to be paid to Government and not the quantity to be sold. Owing to long distances and lack of proper roads, liquor could not be supplied to this district from any distillery; so the old system of pot-stills was adopted. But instead of pot-stills established in villages as in the past, each Taluqs has been allowed to establish a central still, so that proper account may be maintained about manufacture and sale of liquor. The contract was let out on Rs. 5,94,783, against Rs. 4,84,783 in the previous lease, an increase of Rs. 1,10,000¹¹.

The revenue from the liquor contract in the districts amounted to Rs. 45,45,136 in 1336 *Fasli*, as against Rs. 42,30,371 (excluding Adilabad District) in 1335 *Fasli*. the figures for *Atraf-i-Balda* (Hyderabad) District¹² were not included. The details of liquor shops in Hyderabad State were as follows.

Place	1335 Fasli	1336 Fasli
Hyderabad City	331	332
Secunderabad and Bolaram	120	120
Aurangabad District	833	833
Bhir	303	357
Parbhani	329	329
Nanded	378	368
Gulbarga	594	594
Raichur	765	765
Osmanabad	214	214
Bidar	311	308
Medak	496	468
Nizamabad	524	524
Mahaboobnagar	817	864
Nalgonda	838	814
Warangal	1,058	1,058
Karimnagar	447	447
Adilabad	859	865
Total	9,217	9,260

Source: *Report on the working of the Departments under the Secretary and Director-General of Revenue, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1336 *Fasli* (1926-27), p. 40.

The above table reveals that the number liquor shops in different District in Hyderabad State in 1335 *Fasli* and 1336 *Fasli*. In Warangal, Adilabad and Nalgonda Districts most of the liquor

shops were existed. Few shops were established in Osmanabad, Bidar and Parbhani districts were¹³. Total number of liquor shops in the State in 1335 *Fasli* is 9,217 and in 1336 *Fasli* 9,260 respectively. Consumption of liquor in different districts of Nizam Hyderabad State as follows.

Table
Consumption of Country liquor

Districts	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	1336 <i>Fasli</i>
Aurangabad	55,522	48,102
Bhir	7,425	5,436
Parbhani	19,736	13,075
Nanded	24,981	22,997
Gulbarga	34,079	29,075
Raichur	28,365	24,303
Osmanabad	8,874	8,271
Bidar	24,712	21,443
Medak	32,436	25,862
Nizamabad	38,461	36,816
Mahaboobnagar	60,398	51,409
Nalgonda	42,777	27,817
Warangal	1,04,768	93,597
Karimnagar	21,500	14,426
Adilabad	48,120	73,725
City (Atraf Balda)	2,11,053	2,07,781
Secunderabad and Bolaram	1,35,770	1,23,058
Total	8,99,027	8,22,193

Source: *Report on the working of the Departments under the Secretary and Director-General of Revenue, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1336 *Fasli* (1926-27), p. 47.

The above table reveals that the consumption of country liquor in different districts of Hyderabad State in 1335 *Fasli* and 1336 *Fasli*. Hyderabad city, Secunderabad and Bollaram and Warangal district consumed most of the liquor during the period. Warangal, Mahaboobnagar and Aurangabad Districts occupied first, second and third places in consumption of liquor in Hyderabad State after the *Atraf-i-Balda*. Total consumption of liquor in 1335 *Fasli* is 8,99,027 gallons and in 1336 *Fasli* 8,22,193 gallons¹⁴. But in total consumption of liquor is slightly decreased in the year 1336 *Fasli*. The contractors got licenses from the Government of Hyderabad to supply liquor to different parts of the State. The

details of the contractor, who were supplied liquor in Hyderabad State as follows.

Table
List of contractors and sale rate

Places supplied	Contractors	Sale rates per Gallon
Hyderabad City	Rasbandi Shops	
Secunderabad and Bollaram	Khan Sahib Dosa Bhai and Seth Mohan Lal	11-06-2006
Medak District	Different Contractors	Rate not fixed
Nizamabad District	Bhikaji Dadabhai	11-04-2000
Warangal	Bhikaji Dadabhai	12-0-0
Suryapet	Bhikaji Dadabhai	12-0-0
Huzurnagar	Bhikaji Dadabhai	12-0-0
Atraf Balda	Different Contractors	Rate not fixed
Osmanabad	Abdul Qasim and Bashiruddin Ahmad Khan	Rate not fixed
Bidar	Bhikaji Dadabhai	12-0-0
Gulbarga	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0
Andole	Different Contractors	Rate not fixed
Raichur	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0
Deodrug	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0
Manvi	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0
Alampur	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0
Aurangabad	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0
Bhir	Ramdayal Ghansiram and Chotalal Babu singh	13-0-0
Parbhani District	Different Contractors	Rate not fixed
Nanded District	Waman Naik	12-0-0
Chincholi Taluq	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0
Seram Taluq	Khan Saheb Dosabhai	13-0-0

Source: *Report on the working of the Departments under the Secretary and Director-General of Revenue, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1336 *Fasli* (1926-27), pp. 42-43.

The above table reveals that the contractors took license from the government and supplied liquor to different places in the State. The most important contractors in the State were Khan Saheb Dosabhai and Bhikaji Dadabhai. Khan Saheb Dosabhai supplied liquor in Secunderabad and Bollaram, Chincholi, Seram,

Kodangal, Yadgir, Shahpur, Shorapur, Lingasugur, Sindhanur, Kushtagi, Gangawati taluq, Aurangabad, Raichur, Gulbarga, Andole, Deodurg, Manvi and Alampur etc in the State¹⁵ whereas Bhikaji Dadabhai supplied to Nizamabad, Warangal, Bidar, Suryapet and Huzurngar etc in the State. These two took license from the Government to supply liquor to 85 percent of regions in the State. These two persons played active role in the regional politics also.

Ganja Shops: The cultivation of hemp for Ganja in Hyderabad is said to amount to 300 or 400 acres. Bhang is the refuse of the ganja so produced. There is no restriction on cultivation, but the right of selling the drugs was auctioned and the cultivators were bound to dispose of their produce to the license holders. In Hyderabad State there were 912 ganja shops, which make one shop for every 99 square miles¹⁶. The consumption of ganja per head is 5.6 grains. The total area brought under the ganja cultivation was 58 acres and 24 *guntas*. (Land measurement unit. 1 gunta=121 square yards or 33 feet) The income on amount of license fees, including *Sarf-i-Khas Ilaga* (Crown lands) amount to Rs. 1,92,568. The total revenue from ganja amounted to Rs. 2,77,292, out of which license fees amount to Rs. 1,62,632 and Rs. 1,14,660 were from duty.

Opium: In the state there were 1,575 opium shops. There was one shop for every 50 square miles. The average consumption of opium per head in the Dominion was 7.6 grains. The revenue from opium in 1336 *Fasli* amount to Rs. 11,88,416, of which Rs. 11,42,290 was on account of 1336 *Fasli* and the balance of Rs. 46,126 pertained to the arrears of the guaranteed amount of previous years.

Sendhi (Toddy) Shops: In Hyderabad State there were 21,899 *sendhi* shops in 1336 F as against 21,672 in 1335 *Fasli*. Total revenue from *sendhi* shops in the Dominion was 74,83,455 in 1336 *Fasli*. Toddy was largely consumed in the Telangana Districts, where the two kinds of toddy-palm (*Borassus flabellifer* and *Phoenix sylvestris*) are cultivated. In the Marathwada Districts the palm is rare, and the people use Mahua (*Ippa*) liquor to a much greater extent. There was a growing taste for European liquor in the city and suburbs and some of the district headquarters. No special efforts have been made to restrict the consumption of intoxicants, though their increased cost, owing to better methods of administration, had some effect¹⁷. The incidence of excise revenue per head of population for the years 1901 and 1903 respectively was Rs. 0-5-7 and 0-6-3.

Gulmowha; The revenue from Gulmowha is two kinds: 1. Contract money from the sale of the flower and 2. *Thalbharti* duty

levied on liquor extracted from mowha flowers¹⁸. The revenue from the *Gulmowha* contract in 1335 *Fasli* was Rs. 7,64,722, while in 1336 *Fasli*, it amounted to Rs. 8,40,144, an increase of Rs. 75,422. But the *thalbharti* duty in 1336 *Fasli*. amount Rs. 2,10,198, against Rs. 3,12,180 in 1335 *Fasli*, a decrease of Rs. 1,01,982.

Poisonous Drugs: prior to 1330 *Fasli* control of poisonous drugs was under the Revenue Department; it was entrusted to the Abkari Department in 1330 *Fasli*. the number of licenses issued by the courts for the sale of these drugs in not available. The demand was Rs. 42,388, as against Rs. 43,941 in the previous year (1329 *Fasli*), a decrease of Rs. 1,553¹⁹.

The Government of Hyderabad received revenue from the all heads. The Government of Hyderabad established an Industrial Alcohol Factory in 1925²⁰. This also helped to increase the revenue. The total revenue under all heads of excise in 1336 *Fasli*, according to *vasul baqis* (Revenue arrears) submitted by the district authorities, amount to Rs. 1,75,75,421, as against Rs. 1,70,61,005 in the previous year i.e. 1336 *Fasli*, (1926), as in the following table:

Table
Revenue to the Excise Department in 1335 *Fasli* (1925-26)-
1336 *Fasli* (1926-27)

Heads	Year	Net collections		Excise Collections		Total
		Arrears	Current	Arrears	Current	
	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	1,36,879	65,58,849	-	-	66,95,728
Liquor	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	3,60,549	63,49,365	22,679	180	67,32,773
Sendhi	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	6,53,430	70,13,161	-	-	76,66,591
	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	6,58,926	74,83,455	15,809	1,740	81,59,930
Gulmohwa	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	1,12,167	9,28,450	--	--	10,40,617
	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	2,87,066	8,61,758	346	369	11,49,539
Opium	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	50,309	13,10,861	--	--	13,61,170
	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	66,760	11,42,290	--	--	12,09,050
Hemp	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	1,303	2,55,486	--	--	2,56,789
	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	14,562	2,62,131	--	--	2,76,693
Poisonous Drugs	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	4,508	35,602	--	--	40,110
	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	10,351	36,010	1	72	46,434
Miscellaneous	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	--	--	--	--	--
	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	348	--	654	--	1,002
Total	1335 <i>Fasli</i>	9,58,596	1,61,02,409	--	--	1,70,61,055
	1336 <i>Fasli</i>	13,98,562	1,61,35,009	39,489	2,861	1,75,75,421

Source: *Report on the working of the Departments under the Secretary and Director-General of Revenue, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1336 *Fasli* (1926-27), p. 54.

The above table reveals that the revenue received from the different heads in the state in 1335 *Fasli* and 1336 *Fasli*. Most of the revenue received Excise Department from Toddy or *Sendhi* and Liquor in the Hyderabad State. In 1335 F the amount received from *sendhi* was Rs. 76,66,591 and in 1336F is Rs. 81,59,930. From liquor an amount received in 1335 *Fasli* was Rs. 66,95,728 and in 1336 *Fasli* was Rs. 67,32,773 respectively. The total revenue received the Excise Department in 1335 *Fasli* was Rs. 1,70,61,055 and in 1336 *Fasli* was Rs. 1,75,75,421²¹. Nizam Government established a Central Distillery at Kamareddy. It was started working in 1346 *Fasli* (1936).²² The revenue increased year by year from the drugs to the Excise Department. The following table shows the growth of the Abakari Revenue in Hyderabad State from 1934 to 1948. The details of the revenue from different sources were as follows:

Table
Revenue from different sources (in Rupees)

Year	Sendhi	Liquor	Opium	Ganja	Miscellaneous	Total
1934-35	1,08,16,336	60,73,803	11,25,646	4,80,686	2,47,164	1,87,43,635
1935-36	1,07,62,012	56,56,429	11,36,245	4,93,324	2,51,656	1,82,99,666
1941-42	1,39,84,407	51,71,509	10,00,457	6,48,193	2,77,426	2,10,81,992
1942-43	1,55,65,168	73,50,458	12,15,019	8,79,998	3,64,954	2,53,75,597
1943-44	2,19,74,871	1,08,70,452	16,51,934	12,07,203	5,27,317	3,62,31,757
1946-47	4,44,50,057	2,01,59,252	21,74,555	16,42,940	7,90,384	6,92,17,188
1947-48	4,63,19,610	2,17,32,221	25,75,926	19,23,453	7,70,031	7,33,21,241

Source: C.V.S Rao, *A Review of Hyderabad Finance*, Government Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1951, P.142.

The above table clearly reveals that the revenue was forthcoming from different source in Hyderabad State. Excise was one of the important revenue sectors to the State. *Sendhi* and liquor generated marked revenue from the society. In fourteen years period the Abkari revenue was increased to almost four times. In 1934-35 the total revenue for the different liquors to state are 1,87,43,635 rupees. In 1942-43 the total revenue increased to 2,53,75, 597. In the year 1947-48, the total revenue came from liquor is 7,33,21,241 rupees²³. The Nizam's Hyderabad depended on this revenue partially to strengthen the administration. Lamentably, it is clear from the above information that there was a marked increase in the consumers of intoxicants spending huge amounts of their hard earned money, needless to say at the cost of their health.

Conclusion:

Mir Osman Ali Khan systematised the Abkari in the State. The Nizam Government established a Central Distillery at Kamareddy and the State Distillery at Secunderabad. The Abkari rights of the *Jagirdars* were abolished in 1909. Total number of liquor shops in the State in 1335 *Fasli* is 9,217 and in 1336 *Fasli* 9,260 respectively. The most important contractors in the State were Khan Saheb Dosabhai and Bhikaji Dadabhai. They were influenced the Government of Nizam and played an important role in the administration. Abkari revenue came from the liquor shops, toddy, Ganja, Opium, *Gulmowha and drugs*. In 1934-35 the total revenue from the Abkari to the State are 1,87,43,635 rupees. In 1942-43 the total revenue of the Abkari is increased to 2,53,75,597. In the year 1947-48, the total revenue came from the Abkari is 7,33,21,241 rupees. The Abkari revenue is very precious to the State for strengthen the administration and conducts the development activities in the State.

Acknowledgements:

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Endnotes:

¹S.Banumathi Ranga Rao., Land Revenue Administration in the Nizams' Dominions (1853-1948), Osmania University, 1992, P.i.

²Even so, a few *Jagirdars* enjoyed excise revenue till the abolition of *Jagirs*.

³*Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Hyderabad State*, Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1991 (originally Printed in 1909), p.62.

⁴B.K, Narayana., *Finance and Fiscal Policy of Hyderabad State (1900-1956)*, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1973, p.57.

⁵C.V.S. Rao., *A Review of Hyderabad Finance*, Government Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1951, p.141.

⁶*Ibid.*, P.142.

⁷B.K, Narayana., *Op.Cit.*, p.57.

⁸A code for taxation of liquor was evolved by 1936.

⁹The Hyderabad Government followed a policy of high taxation on liquor to reduce its consumption, but with little success.

¹⁰*Report on the working of the Departments under the Secretary and Director-General of Revenue, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1336 F (1926-27), p. 40.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²The shops during 1336 *Fasli* included 16 English liquor shops in Hyderabad City, 23 in Secunderabad and 31 in the Districts, besides 4 canteens in Secunderabad. 13 licenses are issued on the Railway every year.

¹³*Report on the working of the Departments under the Secretary and Director-General of Revenue, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1336 *Fasli* (1926-27), p. 40.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, P. 47.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁶*Report of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission, 1893-94*, Government Central Printing Office, Simla, 1894, P86.

¹⁷C.V.S. Rao., *Op. Cit.*, p.142.

¹⁸Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Hyderabad State, *Op. Cit.*, p.62.

¹⁹*Report on the working of the Departments under the Secretary and Director-General of Revenue, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1336 F (1926-27), p. 54.

²⁰B.K. Narayana., *Op. Cit.*, p. 49.

²¹The State Excise revenue rose more steeply than land revenue from Rs. 48.73 in 1900-01 to Rs. 143.81 lakhs in 1920-21.

²²*Some Economic Facts and Figures of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions*, Government Central Press, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1937, P.30.

²³B.K. Narayana., *Finance and Fiscal Policy of Hyderabad State (1900-1956)*, the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1973, P.58.

Propitious Obscenity: A Discourse on Auspicious Symbolism behind Erotic Art in Odisha

Binod Bihari Satpathy

Sex was not only inhabited but was cultivated as art since primitive times. This form of art otherwise called *Erotic Art* appeared with prehistoric rock art and subsequently become visible in the domain of primitive figural art, literary creations, religious art of almost all the religions encountered by mankind, and in secular art form of different civilizations. Unlike the rest of the civilized world, eroticism ventured into the life and literature, religion, and art of the Indian subcontinent since bygone eras. Here it found manifestation in most profane ways on the most scared walls. This phenomenon attracted the attention of the scholarly world for investigating the ideas and ideals behind this form of art.

Scholastic investigation for the last two centuries produced numerous and varied explanations as to the origin and significance of erotic images appearing in the temples of India. Even the exact significance of these obscene figures and the reason why they have been used as decorations on the walls of religious monuments have inspired several interpretations. As one writer observes "written and spoken there is no end to the list of explanations to the *mithuna's* beautiful, mysterious and unquiet presence on these sacred walls".¹ Some of the explanations are nothing more than superficial generalizations or expressions of personal preferences, while others offer new insights very helpful for understanding a limited number of such sculptures. Even in these progressive times some scholars of Indian art, still find it wise to draw an academic screen over much that is important in the subject. Of the few scholars who have so far sought to interpret this erotic aspect of Indian art, none has so far succeeded in presenting his or her arguments with clarity or conviction. Each authority seems tempted to advocate a favourable theory to the omission of others, and that theory seems to be coloured by the mental attitude of its protagonist. In a subject with such strong sexual inference, it is not surprising that the writer's moral philosophy is sometimes reflected in his opinions. In a maze of explanations, scholars have rarely been successful in making the problem more intelligible. The failure is largely because too much emphasis has been given on finding a 'single cause' or a complete explanation.² The present essay is based on the idea that all the previous hypotheses found out by scholars are in one way or other are interrelated and as a whole formed a single factor behind Eroticism in Art that is auspiciousness. Here the essay will deal with the thought that erotic art on the Hindu temple wall revolves around the aspect of

auspiciousness in two ways. As an auspicious symbol, it provides security or protection to the temple and the society from the evil spirit on one hand, and the other, it bestowed blessing as symbols of fertility. So far as eroticism in temple art is concerned, an aspect which has to be taken into consideration is that Erotic-art as found on the temple wall is manifested by the artist with the sanctions of the priestly class and reflects the taste of the patron who sanctions the building. In the following paragraphs, an attempt is made to invigorate the auspicious symbolism behind the portrayal of erotic motifs in the art of a society that is renowned for her austerity in the historical ages. In a more general sense an explanation is being offered with the most common hypothesis and supporting quotations and evidence.

Fertility and Protective Aspect:

It is evident from the work done by previous scholars that the factors behind the depiction of sexual themes in art are auspiciousness, which is the real and only motto of all reasons. To repeat, the scriptures suggest erotic depiction out of auspiciousness, the canons prescribed the erotic themes due to their sacred and sole auspicious nature and finally, the *devadasi* system also became a factor of erotic depiction solely because of their auspicious nature. Thus, we notice that behind most of the probable factors responsible for the depiction of erotic art on temple walls or somewhere else always lays the concept of auspiciousness.

So, the most possible explanation for the appearance of erotic imagery on temple art in particular and other forms of art, in general, is auspiciousness. This is also one of the most universally rejected views of modern critics, even though other decorative motifs are accepted as being auspicious as cited by Donaldson.³ He also points out the reason for rejection of this explanation, first is a simple rejection of the protective aspect of auspicious motifs and secondly distinction between *mithuna* and *maithuna* scenes.

The portrayal of sex on the religious monuments of India would pose a problem, where the emphasis is given on *tapas* (austerity), *vairagya* (detachment), and *sanyasa* (renunciation) for the attainment of *moksa*.

So, the resolution of this paradoxical situation depends on the fact that along with the above ideals, Hinduism also retains beliefs and practices connected with fertility and protective aspects. Taking this assumption, in the subsequent paragraphs, we will examine the aspect of fertility and protectivity or the so-called *raksartham* and *varanartham*⁴ or propitious-apatropaic⁵ function, one by one with proper evidence and scriptural references with their relevance to erotic sculptures.

Fertility Aspect:

The central concept of ancient religion is the conservation and promotion of life. Thus, for the primitive man, there was a dual-task first one is to get rid of evil, hunger, and barrenness and to secure good or 'food and fertility'.⁶ Since primitive times sex has been associated with magical power because of its power of generating life. It is also conceived as a creative force that has the power to rejuvenate things. It is used for fertility purposes in a broader sense to include both primary purposes of multiplication and revitalization of animals, vegetation, earth, and human beings and also its wider connotations i.e. the aversion of evil, death, misfortune, and promotion of life, happiness, prosperity, well being, abundance, and auspiciousness. Briffault⁷ says that sexual rites of early religions are not confined to promoting the fertility of women, of the soil, and livestock. "The utilitarian effect of sexual activity, extend in early ritual, to practices intended to promote the general welfare of the community and to avert danger and misfortune". The magical power of sex is manifest in symbolic representation since primitive time.

Fertility aspects of sex have been prevalent since Paleolithic period as prehistoric rock art suggests. Prehistoric art motifs like female figurines or 'venus' with exaggerated sexual parts were connected with hunting magic. As Annemarie Malefijt⁸ remarked, 'the main purpose of these art objects seems to be promotion and conservation of life in and through the outward of homeopathic magic like produces like may well be applied here'. In the Odishan contexts we have noticed that there are innumerable vulva signs in the shape of a triangle and serpentine forms and cupules, which from every angle suggest some fertility connection. Next to primitive rock art, we came across different figurative art like a model of stone *yoni* or the female genital organs and the fertility figurines like headless *Lajja Gauri* images.

In the early temples of Odisha, we have noticed amorous couples. Even the Buddhist sites of Odisha also depict couples along with other sexual motifs. As the connection between ancient religion and art, it is a fact that both are interrelated. Even Jane Harrison⁹ has pointed out the "close connection between ritual and art in ancient religions. Ritual practices are often translated into art. Both rituals and art according to her start from the same impulse. Ritual recreates emotion, art imitates it." Thus, in the early time, it seems that the depiction of pairs was used as a substitute for the actual performance of the rite. It possibly represented the transmission of the actual lovemaking or sexual act to the symbolic depiction of it when the actual performance was considered objectionable with the change in social organisation.¹⁰ Even the early literature sanctioned the act of

symbolic representations for example Vedic rites like *Mahavrata*, substitute might have been devised for the actual performance of copulation when in the 5th Century B.C., texts like the *Sankhayanasrautasutra* objected to its execution.¹¹ The above depiction of ritualistic pair or sacred couples throws further light on the depiction of erotic couples in religious Art. As pointed by Mircea Eliade¹² that “the couples personifying the power or genie of vegetation are in themselves a center of energy, and able to increase the forces of power they represent. The magic force of vegetation is being increased by the very fact of being ‘represented’, personified, we might say, by a young couple with the richest erotic capabilities, if not actual realizations. This couple, the ‘bridegroom’ and the ‘bride’, are nothing more than an allegorical reflection of what once took place in very fact: they are repeating the primeval action of the sacred marriage.” This explanation suggests that the *mithuna* couples in the temple art as the source of energy that is for the creation and generation of life.

Here, the fertility aspect of the *mithuna* images also prescribed by the scripture as already mentioned. *Satapatha Brahmana* contains the statement that ‘birth originates from a *mithuna*’. *Mithuna* is defined as a productive couple. As described by the Vedic text “A male is one half of one’s self for when one is with a male, he is whole and complete”. This type of thinking is also to be found in the religious literature of subsequent epochs. The *Sankhya* philosophy puts emphasized on the concept of *purusa* and *prakrti*. Even in the form of erotic emblem, Siva is worshipped as a *lingam* the phallus and Sakti are worshipped as *yoni*, which represents the female principle. Thus, even the religious philosophy and religious art symbolically reveal the idea of fertility. And possibly the erotic themes on the temple art meant to be a representation of procreation of life.

Further, the concept of fertility is also again attested by the *devadasi* institution. During the discussion of *devadasi* tradition, we noticed that in ancient times the very profession of a prostitute involved repeated sexual relations with many men and so potentially symbolized fertility and the power of reproduction. Thus, for a community whose prosperity and wealth depended on ensuring the fertility of the field and of cattle she symbolized the fertility principle. A *devadasi* is a euphemistic term for *vesya* or prostitute, the fertility concept rightly fits in the proposition that patrons and the artist glorified the *devadasi* by portraying their erotic activities on the temple wall, which has also a fertility concept behind its depiction.

Erotic motifs serves the purpose of propitiousness, possibly it may be employed for prosperity. It is stated in the scriptures that rituals must be performed for the sake of security and as a

source of prosperity.¹³ The propitious symbols are particularly evident on the motifs decorating the doorway or entrance to a temple or sacred compound. The propitious image of Laksmi, the great goddess of fortune, as we know from scriptural injunctions, should be installed at the gate and the middle courtyard of all dwelling houses.¹⁴ Even there is a belief that a young woman can revitalize a tree and make it blossom by her touch, and in temple art, the motifs of *salabhanjika* represent the fertilizing concept of women's principles.

Thus, the above views reflect the auspicious nature of male and female principles and erotic imageries in temple art. And the auspicious character of these erotic images reveals the fertility or propitious aspect behind their appearance in the domain of art.

Protective Aspect:

Another important explanation put forward in this topic is the protective aspect. The sexual depiction is also undertaken for protective purposes with a view of avoiding the evil eye. Even Pliny¹⁵ mentioned that belief in the evil eye was one of the most powerful superstitions in India in the 1st Century A.D. Obscene display is believed to scare away evil spirits. The spirits are said to be dreadful to the male and female principles. Even in the primitive time auspiciousness of sex objects was used to ward off the evil eye.

If we compare the primitive genitalia exposing figures across the world with their indigenous aspect, the result will be an apotropaic one. The '*Sheela*' figure, a powerful entrance motive of many medieval Irish churches, seems to have handed down another dominant feature of her queer appearance, the exposing of her genital combined with indicating hand gesture. This nude display was often misunderstood as an erotic allusion¹⁶ but Celtic legend, however, gave a different meaning to the gesture. As a German traveler in the 19th Century found out upon inquiring about popular beliefs, a woman displayed this way was meant to avert misfortune in real life as well as in sculpture.¹⁷ Even the examples from the early Bronze Age Anatolia and even Paleolithic cave art in France e.g. the famous Venus figurine from laugerie-basse (Dordogne) are an impressive testimonial to that these are highly archaic gesture; often described as sexual or as fertility gestures. But the facial expression, of those images, it is the repulsive and even threatening ugliness that forbids any association with reproductive female power or erotic appeal. The same holds for the Irish '*Sheela*' which compete with each other in dreadfulness.¹⁸

Even Egyptian female figures of the same type, known as '*Baubo*' in the literature, combine their genital display with the

face of an old grimacing woman and the 'nude goddess' or 'shameless woman' is well known in Africa and western Asia, India and southeastern Asia. The early Indian examples share many traits in common with the Neolithic Egyptian *Baubo*, an opulent female figure sitting on the ground with legs widespread and pudenda exposed. The head is usually omitted and all emphasis is focused on the displaying position.¹⁹ Javanese examples do have a head but show the frightening and dreadful expression so often found in early and late Irish *Sheelas* with their bare toothed grins.²⁰ Melanesian and Micronesian versions repeat the motive, as *litenis* or '*dilukais*' with widespread legs above the entrance of the official houses. They are part of a living tradition. Even today Trobriand islanders adorn their ship-bows with this motif and hope for protection from it.²¹

Thus, we see that across the globe shameful nude figures with the same ideas behind them were designed since primitive times to modern age. In this regard, the diffusionist interpretation held by Douglas Fraser in his study of the 'heraldic woman', the motif of a woman in the above-described sitting position between two wild or mythic animals, has great persuasive power²². As Fraser points out the composite motif of the woman with the flanking animals was derived from a much older motif of a single-seated woman, an observation that seems to coincide with the subject discussed in this topic. Fraser argues that the theme enrolled slowly through diffusion and tradition. But as humans tend to modify by culture whatever is to be modified, the question arises as to why the motive has been handed over trans-culturally for such a long time in such rigid conservation not only in formal aspects but in the situational context of the application as well. If the semantic dimension of a motive is taken over together with its formal expression, a common perception of its values within definite formal patterns seems to occur. The certain message seems to be bound to; even fused with certain mimic and gestural signs, so that a purely formal imitation by decorative and arbitrary means does not work. The motives have in common not only the kinds of variation in gesture and facial expression but also the frontal presentation and the protection aspect in their position on crucial sites of a building or object.²³

So, while analyzing the primitive sex symbols and figures as well as medieval temple art we found the male and female figures displaying their genital organ, even in coital sexual postures are depicted. But the repeated interpretation of the above motifs as fertility gods although found a supportive base, but in the view of indigenous people and literature, the function of these images as protective and prophylactic symbols is far more compatible with their threatening appearance and imperative self-display, traits that frequently are found in combination.

In this aspect, the explanation to ward off evil, to prevent the building being struck by lightning is supported by religious scriptures. In one instance in a verse in the *Skanda purana*²⁴ seems to suggest that such sculptures, which are the symbols of virility, are to be depicted as a prophylactic measure against thunderbolts.

Vajrapatadbhityadi varanartham yathoditam

Silpisastrepi manyadivinyasam paurusakrtim.

It is believed that lightning (*vidyut*), being a female, out of modesty would not approach the temple covered with such obscene figures. The same inferences come from the story of *Bhagavatapurana*,²⁵ that once Indra being guilty of the sin of Brahmanicide; distributed his sin among the earth, water, trees, and women. Through sharing the sin of Indra women became passionate and indulged in sexual pleasures. So it is believed that *vajra* of Indra can not affect the temple where the love plays are depicted in sculpture. Other inferences in this aspect have been retrieved from the passages of the *Utkala khanda* of *Skanda purana*, *Agni purana* and *Brahatsamhita* uphold "that the function of the obscene sculptures was to protect the structures against lightning, cyclone and other visitations of nature".²⁶ From the *silpasastras*, it is also revealed that the builders of the temples were quite concerned with protecting the structures from all sorts of calamities, so much so that a miniature shrine (*balaya*) or temporary abode was to be constructed when the main temple was damaged, as in the case of "natural disasters such as lightning damage or the calamity of *pitha*, breakage of the base, attacks by elephants or enemies or thieves".²⁷ Even the local priests of the temples of Odisha still believe in the protective function of the erotic sculptures.²⁸

But critics also repudiate the above aspect of ward off evil as K.S. Behera remarked that "had these obscene sculptures been intended to ward off lightning and thunder, they would have been carved on the upper part of the temple but in fact, they are not to be seen on the *mastaka* portion".²⁹ K. C. Panigrahi summarily rejects the apotropaic function of *mithuna* as offered by priests in the following manner "The priests maintain that the presence of obscene figures prevents the temples from being struck by lightning. The idea of indecent figures serving as a proof against lightning is unacceptable to the modern man".³⁰

Even Krishan attempts to reject of apotropaic function of *mithuna* images because this function is served by the *kirtimukha* mask.³¹ But the symbolism of the *kirtimukha* is extremely complex and is not limited to an apotropaic function as in Odishan art. It is referred to as *vajra-mastaka* and like the *mithuna* image, has a dual complementary symbolism combining Agni and Soma characteristics.³² Even Fouchets³³ beliefs that only terrifying or

frightening images can be used as evil repelling devices also not enough to deny the theory of protection aspect. Thus many scholars with their personal view try to repudiate the theory but the worldwide concept along with scriptural injunction and indigenous belief support this aspect with more strength.

Other aspects like the *devadasi* tradition as put forth by some scholars as responsible factors for the depiction of erotic art support the apotropaic aspect. That the sight of a prostitute as an auspicious sign as they could serve the apotropaic function, with their similarity with *devadasi* is further revealed as they are married to gods, they never could become a widow. So, their portrayal on temple walls was a *mangala* motif. Thus, even this tradition also served the purpose of auspiciousness which served further the purpose of protection.

Thus, we noticed that in western art apotropaic figures such as the gorgonian placed above the entrance to Greek temples or the *Sheela-na-gig* figures on Irish churches have been accepted as protective motifs used to ward off evil while at the same time serving as propitious emblems symbolizing life, rebirth, and renewed life beyond the grave.

Therefore, if the tendencies of separating the amorous *mithuna* couple from those of vulgar coital couples would be withdrawn, then the apotropaic or protective, as well as the fertility, significance of erotic figures on temples wall should serve as a better explanation. Again, we should consider erotic sculptures as a part of the overall decorative program and not isolated as a distinct phenomenon, for consideration of the apotropaic and propitious functions of the erotic motif.

The above discussion shows that the rendering of erotic motifs on the temple was of magical significance. This magical aspect is particularly true in India, a country still dominated by fertility worship and magic incantation. As the whole process of temple building tradition, from the initial selection of a site and the lining of the *garbha* pit with 'female, stones'³⁴ to the chiseling ceremony of 'opening the eyes' of the idol³⁵ and the installation ceremonies of bathing the image for proper worship.³⁶ Just as the *parsva-devata*, *dikpalas*, and *avarana-devatas* form a protective ring around the presiding deity by emanating their power outward, so do the *mithuna* figures. Lastly even the builder also seeks boons by depicting *mithuna* figures on temples, "the builder (owner) expected spiritual good, prosperity, vigour, wealth and offspring, and also the fulfillment of other desires including a long life for himself and the temple."³⁷

To conclude, the fertility and protective aspect of the erotic motifs in Odishan art from primitive time to medieval temple art

were inspired by the indigenous beliefs on protection and fertility, with the religious scriptural sanction and contemporary social condition.

Thus, in this essay, we have come across the fertility and protective aspects as two sides of auspicious symbolism behind eroticism. The aforesaid discussion proved that the apotropaic and propitious aspects of the erotic motifs is more convincing in the light of philosophical, scriptural, and social evidence. Judged in this background we can assume that erotic sculptures started appearing since the primitive time when the man was in the utter need of food and protection, continued in the historical period when the contemporary religions sanctioned them and systematized by *Silpasastra* texts, speed up in the medieval time and became an indispensable element of decoration for the religious monument vigorously constructed during the time and still being depicted in the modern age.

The above discussions also established the fact that erotic sculptures had a legitimate place in the domain of art, just as love and sex have a legitimate place in life. On this aspect N.R. Roy points out, "*Mithuna* subjects have never been taboo in Indian art and a creative sensuousness has even been regarded as an important source of energy, of vital urge in life for expression as much in religious and spiritual quest as in the quest in certain schools and aspects of Indian *sadhana*. Sanchi and Amravati knew it, Mathura was more than conscious about it, and in the Ellora scenes of Siva and Parvati in rapturous yet self-forgetful kissing embrace the *mithuna*, where the idea of this *sadhana* finds a most creative expression".³⁸

Endnotes:

¹C. Ross Smith., *In Search of India*, Chilton Company, Book Division, New York, 1960, p.162.

²K.S. Behera, *Konarak- the Heritage of Mankind*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, Vol-II, p.231.

³T.E. Donaldson., "Propitious-Apotropaic Eroticism in the Art of Orissa," *Artibus Asiae.*, Vol. 37, No.1/2, Zurich, 1975, p.76.

⁴D. Desai., *Erotic Sculptures of India-A Socio Cultural Study*, Coronet Books Inc, New Delhi, (2nd Ed.), 1985, p.111.

⁵T.E. Donaldson., *Op.Cit.*, pp.75-100.

⁶D. Desai., *Op.Cit.*, p.88.

⁷R. Briffault., "Sex in Religion" in V.F. Calverton and S.D. Schmalhausen (ed.), *Sex in Civilisation*, Garden City Publishing Company, Leiden, 1929, p.45.

⁸A. De Waal Malefijt., *Religion and Culture, An Introduction to Anthropology of Religion*, Macmillan Press, New York, 1968, p.123.

⁹J. Harrison., *Ancient Art and Ritual*, William and Norgate, London, 1913, p.18.

¹⁰D. Desai., *Op.Cit.*, p.97.

¹¹*Sankhayana Srautsutra*, tr. Into. Eng, by W. Caland, The International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur, 1953, XVII, 6,2.

¹²M. Eliade., *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Translated by Rosemary Sheed, Sheed and ward, London, 1958, p.356.

¹³P.K. Acharya., *Architecture of Manasara*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1933, p.319.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.551.

¹⁵Pliny., *Natural History*, VII.2, quoted by W.Crooke in his *An Introduction to the Popular religion and Folklore of Northern India*.II, A Constable & Co., London, 1896, p.I.

¹⁶M. Murry., "Female fertility Figurine", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 64, 1934, p.99.

¹⁷J.G. Kohl., Cited in J.Andreson in *The Witch on the wall: Medieval Erotic Sculpture in the British Isles*, Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen, 1977, 4, p.23.

¹⁸C. Sutterlin., "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism: A Behavioral and Comparative Approach to Some Medieval Sculptures," *Leonardo*, Vol.22, No.1, *Art and the New Biology: Biological Forms and pattern*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989, p.67.

¹⁹Figs. 3-6 in H.D. Sankalia., "The Nude Goddess or Shameless women in Western Asia, India and South-Eastern Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, XXIII, Zurich, 1968, p.111-123.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p.117, fig.12.

²¹Quoted from C. Sutterlin., "Universals in Apotropaic Symbolism: A Behavioral and Comparative Approach to Some Medieval Sculptures," *Leonardo*, Vol.22, No.1, *Art and the New Biology: Biological Forms and pattern*, 1989, p.68.

²²D. Fraser., "The Heraldic Woman," *The Many Faces of Primitive Art*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966, p. 125.

²³For the use of motive in amuletic craft, see L. Hansmann and L. Kriss Rettenbek, *Amulett and Talsmann*, G.D.W. Callwey, Munich, 1966, pp.214-218.

²⁴*Skanda purana, Visnukhanda, Purusottama Mahatmya*, Venkateswar Steam Press, Bombay, 1910, Chap. 21, 38.

²⁵Quoted from K.S. Behera., Konarak, *Bhagavata Purana*, VI, and Chapter.9, 4-8.

²⁶Urmila Agrawal., "Mithuna: Why 'Obscene' Sculptures," *Oriental Art*, Oxford, Vol.XIV, 1968, p.260.

²⁷H.D. Smith., *Pancaratrapprasadaprasadhanam, Chapters 1-10 of the Kriyapada Padmasamhita' -A Pancaratra Text on Temple Building*, 'Panchratra Parisodhana Parishad, Madras, 1963, p.44.

²⁸M.M. Ganguly., *Orissa and her Remains*, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1912, p.229. According to him "The Oriya architects still believe in the efficacy of erotic images and quote from their *silpasastras*, the recommended positions for these images on the structures, insisting such images not only ward off evil spirits but protect the structure against lightning cyclone or other dire visitations of nature".

²⁹K.S. Behera., *Op.Cit*, 1996, Vol-II, p.236.

³⁰K.C.Panigrahi., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Orient Longmans, Calcutta, 1961, p.102.

³¹Y. Krishan., "The Erotic Sculpture of India," *Artibus Asiae*., Vol.34, No. 4, Zurich, 1972, p.336.

³²V.S. Agrawala., *Studies in Indian Art*, Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965, pp.235-236.

³³M. P. Fouchet., *The Erotic Sculpture of India*, Criterion Books, New York, 1959, p.32.

³⁴H.D. Smith., *Op.Cit.*, p.63.

³⁵P.K. Acharya., *Op.Cit.*, p.58.

³⁶H.D. Smith., *Op.Cit.*, p.46.

³⁷T. Bhattacharya., "Mithuna Figure in Indian Art," *Lalit Kala- A Journal of Oriental Art Chiefly India*, Lalit Kala Akademi, No.13, New Delhi, 1967, p.50.

³⁸R.C. Majumdar., (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1966, p.653.

Material Culture of Gollas in Telangana - A Study

Potharaveni Thirupathi

Introduction:

Animal rearing communities, especially the shepherds, can be found across the globe. The Aryans were herdsmen during the Rig Vedic times as gleaned from the hymns. The animals rearing communities or cowherds or shepherds are variously known in India as Pal, Baghela, Dangar, Nikhaar, Gawal, Gwala and Ahir in Uttar Pradesh; as Pal, Rajpal, Gadaria and Ahir in Haryana and Punjab; as Pal, Rajpal Gadar, Gadaria, Bedwar and Ahir in Bihar; as Pal, Gadaria, Rewadi, Banjara, Baghela, and Dharwad in Rajasthan; as Dhangar, Gawli, Khatker, Hatgar, Banjara, Vaghela, Gwala, Gopala and Maratha in Maharashtra; as Dhangar, Baghela, Gadaria, Ghosi, Pak, Ahir, Yadav, Gwal, Gwali, Bharud, and Rawat in Madhya Pradesh; as Kurba, Dhangar, Gawali, Gowli, Gopali, Konar in Karnataka; as Gadari, Pal, Haldaar, Sadagopa in West Bengal; as Gaddees, Pal, Ahir in Himachal Pradesh; as Orawan, Khurk, Saile, Agraya, Gola and Sadagopa in Odisha; as Kurumbha, Idiyaan, and Kunaarin Tamil Nadu, and as Rabari, Bharud and Ahir in Gujarat. A sizeable number of pastoral communities also existing in the present day Telangana state whose main occupation was animal rearing. These social groups of Telangana State are known as *Gollas* or *Gollakuruma* or *Yadavas*¹. The *Gollas* have many dependent castes, among them following are the important ones: (1) *Oggur Varu*, (2) *Mandahechchulu*, (3) *Golla Suddulu*, (4) *Baikani Varu*, (5) *Teracheeralavaru*, (6) *Kommulavaru* and (7) *Gangireddulavaru*. Of these, the *Oggus* narrate *Mallanna Puranam* and *Beerappa Puranam*, while the *Golla Suddulu*, *Baikanis*, *Teracheeralavaru*, *Mandahechchulavaru*, and *Kommulavaru* narrate the ballads of the epic of *Katamaraju*, thereby eking their livelihoods from *Gollas* – the patron caste. Though the *Gangireddulavaru* are a dependent caste of *Gollas*, they depend upon other castes too, for their livelihood. Further, though the *Kommulavaru* are *Madigas*, they live as dependents of *Gollas*.

The *Golla* community of Telangana state is one of prominent pastoral communities of India with a rich antiquity. Their main occupation is animal husbandry or rearing of cattle. Along with the ovine animals, they tend to even caprine and bovine animals. While some of them collect wool and weave blankets as an alternative occupation, some others are involved in occupations like trading animals, selling their meat and dealing with dairy products and a few are engaged in agriculture or work as agriculture labour. They live in simple hutments on the plains. They move long distances among pastures, hills and dense forests

in pursuit of fodder for grazing their herds. Hence, they are identified as semi-nomadic tribe with animal rearing as the primary occupation. They eke out their livelihood through the sale of dairy products, meat, leather, wool and through their contribution towards development of agricultural products. They belong, therefore, to an occupational caste.

Origin of the term 'Golla':

There is a difference of opinion among litterateurs and historians about the etymology of the Telugu term 'Golla'. While some of them opined that the term evolved from the Sanskrit word 'Gopal', some others felt that it was a corrupted form of Telugu terms like *Godlavaru*, *Gopalakulu*, *Gorlavaru* and *Govulavaru*. Jayanti Ramaiah Pantulu in the second edition of his lexicon "Sree Surya Rayaandhra Nighantuvu" defined the word *Golla* as 'the community that rears animals and ekes its livelihood selling the dairy products'.² In the third volume of "The Mysore Tribes and Castes", L. A. K. Aiyar states that the term originated from 'Govu' which in turn owes its origin to the Sanskrit word 'Gopala' and defined its meaning as a cowherd.³ Sontheimer in his book, "Pastoral Deities in Western India" confirms the Sanskrit word 'Gopala' as the root for the Telugu word *Golla*.⁴ Even Syed Siraj-ul-Hasan affirms the Sanskrit word as the root of the Telugu word and that the word 'Gopal' means 'caretaker of animals/cows (Go - Cow, Pal - guardian). Further, he stated that the term originated from the commonly used Telugu words *Godlavaru* (men herding animals), *Gollavaru* (cowherds) or *Gorlavaru* (shepherds).⁵

Edgar Thurston and Rangachary in their book "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" stated that the term *Golla* was a corruption of the Sanskrit term *Gopal* and that the people rearing animals in the Telugu regions are known as *Gollas*.⁶ The Telugu translation of "New Testament" also refers the shepherd as *Gollavadu*.⁷ In his book "*Janapada Sahityamlo Yadava Yuddha Kathalu*", T. Damodar states that the *Gollas* eked their living by grazing cows and trading the dairy products.⁸ Marreboina Jayadev observes that the term was used repeatedly in *Bhagavatam* and that during the time of poet *Potana*, the main occupation of the *Gollas* was animal rearing and consequently the term originated from *Gopala*.⁹ Similarly, Tangirala Venkata Subba Rao declares in the first volume of his book *Katamaraju Kathalu* that the word *Gopal* got corrupted to transform into the Telugu word *Golla* and that the word signified the Telugu word *Gorre* (sheep) and those rearing them came to be known as *Gorlavaru* or *Gorrelavaru* which later on transformed into *Gollalu*.¹⁰ From all the above references it can be inferred that those involved in animal rearing, specifically the sheep, are called as *Gollas*.

Material Culture of Gollas:

Culture refers to the beliefs, values, behavior and material objects that, together, form a people's way of life. Culture has two basic components: nonmaterial culture or the intangible creations of human society and material culture, the tangible products of human society. Together, these two components describe a people's way of life. Culture plays an important role in shaping the human personality. Culture shock occurs when an individual suffers personal disorientation when experiencing an unfamiliar way of life. The Material culture consists of man-made objects such as tools, implements, articles and buildings. It is concerned with the external, mechanical and utilization objects. It includes technical and material equipments.

In Telangana, every caste and community have their own the material culture. Similarly, in the culture life of *Gollas* have their own material culture. There are many variations in the material culture of *Gollas* in Telangana. Some similarities can also be marked. The *Golla* community is a pastoral caste herding cows, goats and sheep. They found widely distributed in all districts of the Telangana. The lifestyle of the *Gollas* is distinct from that of other communities. They have their own unique culture, customs and traditions, festivals, fairs, and methods of worship. The *Gollas* culture has two forms- Material Culture and Non Material Culture. Hence, the present study is restricted to focus, discuss and analyze material culture of *Golla* communities. To study the Material Culture of *Gollas* in Telangana state, the present author undertook field trips to various villages in Telangana to personal observation and to record the interviews of the elders of the community. The paper main intends to analyse, interpret and summarisethe primary data collected in respect of the material culture of the *Golla* Communities during the field work.

R.V.S. Sundaram states in his book *Andhrula Janapada Vignanam* that all the articles that are visible and display skill are considered to be part of Material Culture.¹¹ The primary occupation of *Gollas* is animal rearing apart from weaving blankets, selling dairy products and agriculture related activities. They get a variety of articles made for use in their houses and occupational activities and such articles form part of their material culture. The material culture of *Gollas* and their dependent castes can be understood under the following categories (1) Houses, (2) Articles related to house, (3) Articles related to occupation (4) Musical Instruments, (5) Clothes and Ornaments, and (6) Food and drink.

Houses:

Most of the *Gollas* and their dependent castes live in permanent settlements but some of the dependent castes continue

to lead a nomadic life. *Gollas* have their own locality within the village, while some of them erect their dwellings on the outskirts of the village so as to be close to the forests. The village outskirts are the most suitable location for them because of their occupation – animal rearing, sale of dairy products, and sale of animals. The ghettos of *Gollas* on the outskirts of the village are called *Gollapallelu*. Irrespective of the location of their houses – within or on the outskirts – they have their own social status. They maintain good social and economic relationships with the other inhabitants of the village.

In the olden days, they lived in huts and tile roofed hutments. These are built in circular or square shapes using mud and interlaced framework of bamboo splits for walls. Over these walls wooden poles are arranged to form a cone shape to act as the ceiling. Over the wooden poles thatches of straw or palmyra branches are spread to cover the ceiling. To ensure that these thatched roofs remain intact, weights are placed, which in turn are fixed in place using coir ropes. Certain others erected their houses with mud walls on four sides, and beams of bamboo or teak are placed on top of the walls. Over these beams, a thick layer of leaves is spread and on this spread mud cakes are placed slantingly to support earthen tiles. Instead of the earthen tiles, certain other houses have sheets of asbestos or iron to serve as roof. The mud walls are smeared with a paste of cow-dung, red soil, and lime. Most of the houses have a large open space for the sheep and goats, and sheds for the cattle. The sheds are fenced with thorny twigs. Adjacent to the sheds, one can find heaps of fodder, and pits to pile up dung that is used as manure later.

The ground in front of the houses is swept clean and water is sprinkled every morning. On the water sprinkled ground, they draw *muggus* (patterns of lines) using white powder. The doorsills are cleaned with water, and marks are applied using turmeric, vermilion and rice flour. Under the doorsill of the main door and on either sides fine red soil paste is applied and then marks of lime are applied. During festivals and fairs that the families celebrate, the entire house is cleaned, and the walls are given a coat of red soil or lime. Patterns are then drawn on these walls. The nomadic dependent castes erect temporary tents or huts in the villages generally in the outskirts during their periodic visits seeking benefaction. Easy to erect, or dismantle, and portable are the essential aspects of these temporary tents. They are erected using wooden poles, old clothes, mats, and plastic covers. At present, the *Gollas* who have developed economically, in both villages and towns, are constructing concrete buildings in place of the mud houses. However, some of them are living in the houses constructed by the government for the benefit of weaker sections. With the aid given by the government, they are constructing lavatories within their own properties.¹²

Articles of domestic use:

The houses built with mud and tiled roofs had, in one corner, the hearth is made using three large stones placed in a triangular shape, or a circular one made with mud. Beside the hearth, the water pot finds its place. Fire is made using dry twigs, sticks, and dry cow-dung cakes. Most of the cooking is done using earthen pots with clay lids. Every house invariably has a *Buvva Kunda*,¹³ *Koora Kunda*,¹⁴ *Kali Kunda*, *Kooraadu Kunda*,¹⁵ and a *Ganji Kunda*. The food is served using wooden ladles. Dairy products too are stored in earthen pots. Nowadays, utensils made of aluminum or copper are being used for storing curd or churning it into buttermilk. Indian breads are baked on *Penams*.¹⁶ Delicacies like *garelu*, *sakinalu*, *pooreelu* etc. are cooked using iron stew pans.

Every house had a wooden pestle, mortar, hollow bowl made of clay (*Gunjippa*, with a coating of sand of one-inch thickness on the inner side), and such others for preparing and storing pickles. Chillies, ginger, garlic, peanuts and others are ground to paste in a hollow dent made to a slab of stone using the pestle. Pulses and cereals are ground using millstones. They are a pair of heavy flat disk-shaped grinding stones to powder the grain. Every family possesses a sickle, *Kattipeeta*,¹⁷ chopping knife, axe, winnowing baskets, sieves, buckets to draw water from wells, tumblers for drinking water, vessels to store water, large earthen containers for storing threshed grain, measuring utensils, cots with coir ropes, mats, wooden planks to sit on, blankets, wooden swings, broomsticks, and such others. During the olden days, wicker lamps are used for light during the night. With the passing of time, the articles of domestic use have undergone a remarkable change. Earthen hearths have been replaced by gas stoves, earthen utensils are replaced by those made of metal, and wooden articles gave way to plastic ones. However, some of the families still use those traditional articles, thus reflecting their adherence to the traditional lifestyle shunning modernity.¹⁸

Articles related to occupation:

The main occupation of the *Gollas* is rearing and grazing sheep, goats, and cattle. While herding their animals for grazing into pastures located in forests, on mountains and hills, they carry a hand woven woollen blanket on their heads, an axe and a staff in one hand, a woodcutter's knife in another, a bottle or *Bunga Titti* (made by drying the skin of bottle gourd) with water and a cloth sack containing earthen pot with food on the shoulder, a belt along the waist with a holster to hold a small knife, a flint stone (*Jakamuka Raayi*) in a cloth bag inserted into the belt, and rough leather footwear. Likewise, when they leave their herds in other farmers' fields, or when they leave for greener pastures into

mountainous regions, apart from the above, they carry a yoke with slings attached on their ends, groceries, and utensils to cook food. When they leave their herds in agricultural fields, they dig holes into the ground using crowbars to erect wooden poles to support the interlaced framework of bamboo slits (*Tadakalu*) which are tied with ropes in easily detachable knots. To clean the cattle-sheds at home, they use sickles to scratch the dried droppings/dung from the ground, heap them with a broomstick, pick-up these heaps into baskets using spades. The heaps of dung are then dropped into the pits dug for the purpose of collection. The farmers purchase the manure so formed in the pits for sprinkling in their agricultural fields. Sheep droppings have high demand in rural areas. The lambs, kids, and calves are taken good care and are provided with grass and tender branches of shrubs. The axe and woodcutter's knife are used to cut the shrubs to collect fodder for their animals. While going to forests to collect fodder, or while going to the fields to guard their herds, they carry water or gruel in bottles made by drying the skin of bottle gourd. Cooked rice and curries are carried in hollow bowls made of aluminum. These days, they have given way to plastic boxes, and bottles.

They are adept in treating the deceases afflicting their animals, using plant saps. To remove broken thorns that get embedded in the hooves, to make incisions into the lumps that are formed on the animal skins, or to clean the wounds, they use foldable knives. To treat a sick animal by scorching the skin, they use thin twigs of iron. The *Gollas* have been using the flint stones since ancient times to create fire. These stones are carried in a small pouch they tie to their waists, along with raw cotton, and dry leaves. When the flint stones are rubbed hard they generate sparks, using the dry cotton and dry leaf powder, they generate fire. They light their cigars and *Beedies* using the flames. Using the same fire, they set small dry twigs afire for cooking. Some of the *Golla Kurumas* weave wool blankets, using spinning wheel, frame of weaver's reed and a variety of other tools like *Acchu Kola*, *Solige*, *Pandlabadda*, *Tala Kola*, *Vudu Kola*, *Dantera*, *Sheru Kola* etc.¹⁹

Musical instruments:

It can be said that every *Golla* household and that of the dependent castes has at least one traditional musical instrument. During various festivities, fairs, and narrations the traditional instruments are used. They have with them instruments like kettle drums (*Kanjara*), cymbals (*Taalaalu*), jingling bells (*Gajjela Laagulu*), tridents (*Trishulam*), spears (*Bariselu*), shorts with bells attached to them, ankle strips with bells, cloth sacks, *Veerataallu*, and *Bandaru Sanchi*²⁰. Most of the musical instruments are handmade. Apart from these, the houses of dependent castes have the following: *Devarapette*²¹, double drums (*Dolu* or *Veeranam*), horn (*Saphira*),

pointer stick (*Chupudu Karra*), scroll (*Patam*), strips of bells (*Gajjelu*) to be tied to the narrator's calves, and such others.²²

Clothes and Ornaments:

The dressing-up of the *Golla* men and women is distinct and unique when compared to that of people of other castes. The *Gollas* can be easily identified with their different attire. A traditional male is usually attired with a *Rumaalu* (kerchief) around his head, *Gongadi* (a wool blanket) on his shoulder, and a *Dhoti* to cover his lower body. It is only when they attend a marriage within the community, or during festival, visits to relatives' homes, or while going out of the village, they wear an undershirt (banian) and a shirt. Among the males, only those who are possessed by the family deity and the artists among the sub-castes grow long hair and a tuft of it is knotted at the apex. The men adorn themselves with ear rings, chains around the neck, bracelets for the wrists and forearms, finger rings, silver waist band, and silver anklets. These days, however, the men got modernised and prefers to wear lungis, shirts, T-shirts, and pants, wrist watches, and towels as turbans instead of kerchiefs. In the olden days, young boys up to the age of five years wore nothing to cover their bodies, but of late, they wear a variety of dresses. Notwithstanding the myriad changes, the males continue to carry the wool blanket across their shoulders even to this day.

The *Golla* women, without discrimination of being young or old, wore coarse sarees and blouses, and the loose end of the saree went across the right shoulder and the other end tucked into the back. They mark their foreheads with vermilion marks, like any other Hindu woman. They usually wore blouses, the ends of which are knotted together. However, women of some sub-groups, like *Sadanapu Gollas*, do not wear any blouses. Some of the *Golla* women leave their hairs loose, while some others knot, and yet others plait tufts of hair. Some of them wear nose studs. The young girls wear blouses and long skirts, and those after attaining puberty wear half-sarees and long skirts. The *Golla* women of the present day are wearing six yards long sarees instead of the 16 yard coarse ones of the past. Additionally, they are wearing chudidars, and nighties instead of the *Sarees* and blouses of the past. Similarly, the loose end of the saree is worn across the left shoulder, like the women of other castes. Their facial make-up has also undergone a change. The women adorn themselves with a variety of ear rings, brooches, the traditional *Pustelatadu* (Three Knots), necklaces of black beads, rubies, and such others around the neck, bracelets for the wrists and forearms, bangles, gold or silver belt around the waist (*Oddanam*), anklets, ankle chains, and toe rings. The ornaments are of gold, silver, or copper depending upon their affordability and economic status.²³

Food and Drink:

Their diet consists mainly of coarse food grains available locally. The community subsists on '*Ghadka*' and '*Ambali*'

which are prepared with flour of maize or jowar mixed with hot water by adding salt and chillies. They eat 'Rottelu' which are prepared from maize or jowar or paddy. Their food includes varieties of tiffin, rice and sometimes vegetables. They eat flesh of chicken, goat and cattle. They also eat fish. They consume milk and milk products. They give more milk to drink for their small children. A whole family including the young may consume liquor together. Some ceremonial or religious occasion is celebrated with Non-vegetarian dishes and liquor. Some festivals are celebrated with purely vegetarian food. Smoking of *Beedis* (made out of *Tuniki* leaves with tobacco) and *Chuttas* (made out of *Moduga* leaves with tobacco) are very common for both men and women.²⁴

Conclusion:

Culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. The culture has two forms that are material culture and non-material culture. The concept of 'material culture' is relatively more precise and less ambiguous. The *Gollas* has their own material culture. There are many variations in the material culture of *Gollas* in Telangana. Some similarities can also be marked. Most of *Gollas* are engaged in the cattle rearing occupation. Some of the sub castes and their dependent caste are engaged in various occupations for their livelihood, although, their material culture is common. The material culture of the *Golla* clearly reveals that it is utility based. They content with bare minimum that is necessary to eke their livelihood in a peaceful manner. However, the modernization process severely affected their material culture in modern times. As of now tradition is continuing here and there as last flickers amidst of invading modernity.

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¹¹R.V.S.Sundaram., *Andhrula Janapada Vijnanam*, (Telugu) Potti Sriramulu Telugu University, Hyderabad, 2015.p. 363.

¹²Personal interview with Mutyala Erraiah, aged 48 yrs, Rajapur (Village), Kesavapatnam (Mandal), Karimnagar (District) on 04-03-2018.

¹³Pot, in which rice is cooked.

¹⁴Curries are cooked in this pot.

¹⁵The pot, which in, decanted water from cooked rice is stored.

¹⁶These are made with clay or Earthen frying pans.

¹⁷ Wooden plank with kitchen knife fixed to it.

¹⁸Personal interview with KanneboinaLacchamma aged 78 yrs, Venkatraopalle (Village), Huzurabad (Mandal), Karimnagar (District).

¹⁹Personal interview with Siddhi Mallaiah aged 65 yrs, Chennur (Village & Mandal), Mancheri (District) on 06-10-2018.

²⁰It contain turmeric powder.

²¹It is box over which the deity is installed while narrating.

²²Personal interview with Majjiga Venkatanarsaiah, aged 55 yrs, Ontimamidipalli (Village), Ainavole (Mandal), Warangal, Urban (district) on 16-11-2018.

²³Personal interview with Siddhi Padma aged 55 yrs, Chennur (Village&Mandal), Mancheri (District) on 18-12-2018.

²⁴Personal interview with Potharavena Odemma aged 55 yrs, Narsingapoor (Village), Veenavanka (Mandal), Karimangar (District) on 24-12-2018.

Land Routes and Waterways in Seventeenth Century Mughal Gujarat

Basharat Hassan

The paper deals with the transport routes; both inland and waterways in the Mughal suba of Gujarat. We try to look how the land and water determined the flow of commodities, movement of people, settlement of communities and also production and distribution of essentials. Does the land; plain and terrain appear as a monolith in modes of production, exchange, and consumption, and in means of transport and communication? How the waterscapes; streams, lakes, rivers, and larger water bodies connected the regions (at times separated), and facilitated interaction of interests and economies. How far the routes (land routes/waterways) originated or accelerated the development of an urban center. As the shift in the course of rivers doomed the fortunes of an urban pocket, so has routes flourished the fortune of an area. The decline of Cambay and rise of Surat are typified examples. So our foremost concern would be to look into the light or shade, which the routes had on economic aspects. The observation of K.N. Chaudhuri back in 1978 that 'there can be few aspects of Indian studies more neglected than that of historical geography'¹ holds still true, with slight modification that among the few aspects still untouched, the interrelation of historical geography and economic dynamism is an important one.

In the *Ain's* chapter on, *The Account of Twelve Subas*, Abul Fazl offers detailed description of the geography of the *suba* mentioning the flow of rivers, different routes, mountains and minerals, urban pockets, coastline line and deserts, and the boundaries of the *suba*.² He has well mentioned the specification of production³ and the staple foods of the region.⁴ This information gets testified from another celebrated source *Mirat-i Ahmadi*.⁵ So the geographical expression of Gujarat appears to us like; mainland Gujarat, and the periphery. The mainland Gujarat may be defined as area where there were trans-ship areas, urban concentrations, production centers, administrative headquarters and needless to say agrarian cultivation. The mainland covered by the large water bodies, deserts -and forests may be termed as periphery. There were also many pockets of population, commanded by *Zamindars* under the suzerainty of Mughal empire. A number of ports of rich merchandise have been located in this area.⁶ But the two areas were equally influencing each other, the rise of many cities in Gujarat was only possible for easy access to water. The flow of many commodities from periphery was not always insignificant, like the timber from forest areas was an essential constituent for imperial structures and more importantly for ship building.

Another commodity of much significance from the Cacch was the hybrid horses, which were no less than the Arab horses. The reason how this breed originated in this areas, Abul Fazl points that long time ago an Arab ship wrecked and was driven to the shore of Cacch. The ship had seven choice horses, and time only saw the multiplication of this breed.⁷ Next to it, the Camels of this region were also favored for royal stables. The other regions from where these were procured were Ajmir, Jodhpur, Bikanir, Jaisalmer, and Bhatnir.⁸ While analyses in depth the mention of pockets of Kachh, Abul Fazl implicitly in a slight mood differentiates Gujarat and Kachh. A good number of *Zamindars* still continued their influence here, Akbar reducing many of those in his 36th regnal year. This was also the area where Sultan Muzaffar took refuge at Dwarka.⁹

A good evidence prevails in sources; European travel accounts and more fortunately in Persian sources (although rarely accompanied by archeological excavations) regarding the extent, condition and location of roads and an extensive water way channels in the *suba* of Gujarat. The roads in Mughal Gujarat seem to mostly of economic importance with a marginal importance of some regional routes for pilgrim or religious purposes and military usefulness. Most of the European travelers, embassies, and merchant princes have given the detailed description of these routes with nearly exact distances. As Gujarat was the commercial capital of Mughal Empire, and Surat the epicenter, most of these travelers either first landed at Surat or made an immediate travel to this city. So, we have a great record of the routes through which they left the city/province or reached to it. The major cities of the Gujarat; Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, Burhanpur, Cambay, Gandevi, Navseri, Wengurla, Gogha, Gandevi, Ankleswar etc. were connected to each other¹⁰ through different land routes and water ways. The *suba* maintained close and vibrant traffic of material and money with the other *subas* of Mughal India, and with Persian Gulf.¹¹

The *suba* of Gujarat was connected with the surrounding *subas* through a number of trade routes. As we know by the conquest of Gujarat, the main route connecting Ahmadabad with Agra was running via Ajmer, but by the conquest of Khandesh by Akbar, an alternative route developed to connect these two places via Burhanpur.¹² The non-existence of any direct river transportation between these two places¹³ necessitated the more utilization of overland transportation.

These two routes were much important, as the commodities and other trade transaction took place through these routes. The route for Ahmadabad to Agra via Ajmer was already functional on Mughal conquest and it ran through the mountainous and desert areas of Malwa.¹⁴ From Ahmadabad it further extended to

Surat. Thevenot has given a detailed description of the places from Ahmadabad to Surat. The places where he stationed are mentioned as *Beriaio*, town *Ouclisser*, river *Narbada*, and passed through the banks of the river *Narbada* and reached to *Broach* town which is at a distance of twenty *coss*¹⁵ from Surat,¹⁶. The subsequent halts he has mentioned are *Sourban* three and half *coss* from Broach, *Sourban* three and half *coss* from Broach, *Debca* three and half *coss* from *Sourban*, *Petnad* three and half *coss* from *Debca*, *Sousentra*, *Mader* three *coss* distant from *Petnad*, *Gitbag* two and a half *coss* from *Mader*.¹⁷ From *Gitbag* to Ahmedabad is one *coss*.¹⁸ Another traveler Mandelslo mentions the principal places of this route. He started from Surat on 30th September, 1638, the *caravan* proceeded to Broach through *Kathodra* (a ruined place),¹⁹ thence to Baroda, where he took a rest. Then the next halt he mentions is Vasad, and thence to Sojitra²⁰ and finally reached Ahmadabad on. He covered this distance of 'hundred and fifty miles' in twelve days.²¹

Withington with Robert Young also travelled through the road from Surat to Agra via Ajmer, between Ajmer and Agra at every ten *coss* (an ordinary day's journey) there is a *sarai* or place of lodging both for men and horse, and hostesses. Between these places at each *coss* there is a pillar, and at every 10 *coss* there is a fine house (*sarai*) build by the father of this King (*Acaabaar*) when he went in pilgrimage from Agra to Agemere (Ajmer) on foot, saying his prayers at every *coss* end, where is caused the foresaid pillars to be erected.²²

Mundy also travelled from Surat to Agra via Burhanpur; he mentions the places where he halted and the distance of the station from previous one plus time consumed. The major places through which his caravan passed are *Khumbaria* three *coss* from Surat,²³ *Bardoli* ten *coss*, *Beera* twelve *coss*, *Kiela* seven *coss*, *Naranpur* thirteen *coss*, *Dhaita* ten *coss*, *Bhadwar*, *Nandurbar* twelve *coss*, *Nimgul* fifteen *coss*,²⁴ *Tekwara* eight *coss*, *Talnear* ten *coss*, *Chopada* sixteen *coss*, *Bayal* eleven *coss*, *Navi* eight *coss*, *Bahadurpur* twelve *coss*, and finally to *Burhanpur* which lies three *coss* distant from *Bahadurpur*.²⁵

At the time Akbar conquered Gujarat, the major route connecting the inner core with the Gulf of Cambay was the one running through Ahmedabad to Agra via Ajmer, and the conquest of Khandesh by the mentioned Emperor got replaced by an alternative route.²⁶ This route ran through Burhanpur because of the safety concerns, although the distance was more than the first one. This route was followed by most of the travelers of seventeenth century, who either travelled to Agra from Surat or vice-versa. The traffic of the merchandize took place through this route. Withington and Robert Young, the English India servants went to Agra to purchase indigo and other commodities followed this

way.²⁷ They covered the distance of '1010 English miles in 37 days, travelling day and night' in the rainy season'.²⁸ The Dutch factor Pelsaert, appointed as the junior factor of Company in 1620 at Surat and soon promoted as senior factor and shifted to Agra,²⁹ has given a profound description of the pros and cons of this route. The factor has minutely observed the main halting place, Burhanpur. He has given a profound account of this place, apart from Surat and Agra.³⁰ The distance from Surat to Burhapur is 150 kos, and further from Burhanpur to Agra 350 coss (1½ coss equal to 1 Holland mile).³¹

The seventeenth century French gem merchant also mentions two routes from Surat to Agra, one by Burhanpur and Sironj and the other by Ahmedabad. He mentions route via Burhanpur in detail; from Surat to *Bardoli* 10 coss,³² *Balor* 10 coss, *Kirka* 5 coss, *Narayanpur* 5 coss, *Nandurbar* 9 coss, *Dol Medan* 14 coss, *Sinkheda* 7 coss, *Thalner* 10 coss, *Chopra* 15 coss, *Sankli* 13 coss, *Raver* 10 coss,³³ *Balleda* 9 coss, from here to *Burhanpur* 5 coss. So the distance from Surat to Burhanpur is 132 coss.³⁴ There are different calculations given by travelers of the distance between Surat and Burhanpur. Mundy has given it 170 coss, and Tavernier 132.³⁵

So as the route from Ahmadabad to Agra via Burhanpur, facilitated by the conquest of Khandesh led to the rise of Surat,³⁶ we could hardly neglect the economic proliferation it gave to economy of Burhanpur, apart from the bearing it had on cultural and political aspects of the place.

Mundy returned from Agra to Surat via Ahmedabad with a cafile of 268 camels and 109 carts. He left Agra in morning on 25th Feb 1633 for Surat and explains the course through which he reached to Surat and records the distance between two stations. . The main stations mentioned by Mundy are; *Fatehpur* twelve coss,³⁷ *Nimbera* eight coss,³⁸ *Bianaixcoss*, *Surot* six coss, *Hinduan* five coss, *Bamanwas* seven coss, *Lalsot* seven coss, *Jampada* five coss, *Chalsu* seven coss, *Pipalgam* six coss, *Mozabad* eleven coss,³⁹ *Bandar Sindri* nine coss, *Satpura* six coss, *Ajmer* seven coss, *Badhwara* seven coss, *Rae* eight coss, *Merta* seven coss, *Bitan* seven coss, *Pipar*, *Jogika Taao* nine coss, *Kakoni*, *Dandara* eight coss, *Khandap* nine coss, *Bharwani* three coss, *Jalor* nine coss, *Modra* nine coss,⁴⁰ *Bagra* seven coss, *Siwana* three coss, *Siroho* seven coss, *Makrora* four coss, *Nitara* four coss, *Amthora* seven coss, *Mungthala* five coss, , *Roha* three coss, *Sarotra* three coss, *Ghod* five coss, *Gola* seven coss, *Magarwada* five coss, *Sidhpur* six coss, , *Unana* seven coss, *Mehsana* eight coss, *Jornang* seven coss, *Pansar* seven coss, *Adalaj* seven coss, *Chandkhera* ten coss, *Ahmedabad* three coss, *Isampur* two coss, *Madmudabad* ten coss, *Karchiatencoss*, *Baroda* ten coss, *Karwan* ten coss, *Sorang* ten coss,

*Broach ten coss, Ankleshwar three coss, Vario sixteen coss and finally reached Suart one coss on 25th of May.*⁴¹

The *suba* was also connected with Sind, the trade route running from Ahmadabad to Thatta.⁴² Withington travelled this route many times, first in 1613 when he was at Surat and heard the arrival of English ship at *Lahiribander*. So he eagerly left Surat for this port to communicate with the brethren from his fatherland. The main two places which he mentions repeatedly are Radhapur and Nagar Parker.⁴³

John Fryer has given a good description of the route which he took from Bassein to Surat and remarks the main postings. He started at *Bassein*, then *Tarapora* a port 60 miles north of Bombay, *Valentines Peak*; the European name given to Mahalakshmi hill near Dahanu in Thana district and about 16 miles N.E of Tarapora. St John's; Anglo Indian corruption of Sanjan of Thana district, the crossed *Daman*, we passed *Balsore* and then to *Swally*.¹⁸

The route from Surat to Masulipatam was through *Daman-Basein-Rajapur-Goa-Bijapur* and *Golkainda*.⁴⁴ This was followed by many travelers during the seventeenth century. Tavernier, visiting India multiple times, makes mention of trade route from Surat to Aurangabad. He left Surat on 19th of Jan, and halted at 3 coss distance at *Cambari*, then at *Barnoli* (Bardoli) at 9 coss, *Beara* (Behara 12 coss, *Nawapura* 16 coss, *Rinnkula?* 18 coss, *Pipelnar* (Pimpulni) 8 coss, *Nimpour* (Naunpur) 17 coss, *Patna* 14 coss, *Secoura?* 14 coss, *Bawuekla* (wakla) 10 coss, *Disgoan* (Deohaon) 10 coss, *Daulatabad* 10 coss.⁴⁵

There major cities were also connected with upcountry through roadways. There was a roadway from Ahmadabad to Sayyidabad, a distance of 5 coss. Nadiad, a place also equidistant from both Baroda and Ahmadabad, was connected to both these places through separate roadways, the former place 18 coss distant from it⁴⁶ and the later at a distance of 20 coss.⁴⁷ As we know Surat, being the richest sea port of Mughal India, but the ships neither directly arrived there nor departed from the said port, as Swally recognized it as the anchorage point for loading and unloading goods. So there was a roadway connecting Swally to Surat port.⁴⁸ Martin Pring, the Captain of Royal James 1617, affirms this point, 'I was in good hope at first that our smaller shippes might have roade in the river of Suratt, and by that meanes our grocestgoodes to be sent up by boates, to ease the grate chardge of portadge by land; but the smallest shippe wee have can ride no whereafloate to the river'. The English would have hardly any serious threat of the Malabar pirates but the Portuguese on sea were a danger. We assume this road would have been too busy in the shipping season. Although the liability on trafficking goods on road was more, than

the alternative waterway, but the presence of Malabar pirates in the sea had turned roadway desired than the seaway.⁴⁹ The Cambay was connected to Ahmadabad⁵⁰, so was Ahmadabad with the indigo rich town of Sarkhej.⁵¹

These trade routes were at many places cut by the rivers and streams. So building of bridges became an imperative to entertain the utility of these routes. Throughout the Mughal empire, the different types of bridges were: wooden, stone, boat bridges and of ropes. The country was dotted with innumerable wooden bridges.⁵² The wooden bridges seem to have been built at regional crossings, on the tributaries and streams. The rope bridges though were built on low expenses could have been neither durable nor secure. The boat bridges were built by enjoining a number of boats by iron nails and fastened with ropes. They needed less human labor and time, and even technology. A feasible boat bridge could be built in three or four days.⁵³ These bridges would have been built for emergency purposes viz. when the emperor was on tour or the imperial army was on some campaign. As soon as this temporary requirement got fulfilled, these bridges would have been undone. The argument that boat bridges were favored because of their economy and convenience⁵⁴ seems a partial truth. The ready building of these bridges for army campaigns may also have flunked the enemy to predict their route. The permanent bridges of stone, desiring much money, material and manpower were always built on imperial orders. So in 1618, Jahangir ordered Abul Hasan, the *Mirbakshi*, to supervise the building of a bridge of 140 yards long and 4 yards wide across the river *Mahi*. The emperor felt so concerned about the strength of this bridge that he himself watched four elephants crossing over it.⁵⁵ Another stone bridge at Ahmedabad was particularly noticed by travelers and admired.⁵⁶

A challenging aspect to the state was the security of merchants and merchandise. The English and the Dutch merchants repeatedly lament about this problem, which got attention from the early days of Mughal Empire. The routes which passed through mountains were much perilous. The trade route from Ahmadabad to Thatta had become an asylum for the mischievous men. The English servant in 1613 travelling through this route evaded the robbery very curiously and intelligently, while the properties of the other merchants of the *caravan* were appropriated. The *caravan* was held for some weeks not to let the news pass to Emperor. The English servant while returning from this journey, met again with same misfortune, a camel was stolen from one of his companions and one man slain.⁵⁷ In an exaggeration, Withington mentions that during the same journey, he witnesses the Mughal army returning from a battle with 169 heads of *Coolis* (Kolis). So from these European accounts, it appears

that in these mountainous ranges the Koli tribe men made their livelihood by raiding and robbing the travelers. Mughals thought that it was their duty to crush their rebellious and mischievous behavior to upturn trade and economy. These Kolis were scattered in Gujarat as Abul Fazl mentions their presence at multiple places.⁵⁸ Fitch had met with the same fate while travelling through the region of Cambay. In *Traj*, there was the Raja of 'seventeen thousand horse and foot, keeping in a desert wilderness which secures him from conquest'.⁵⁹ The presence of such a Chief with this huge banditry neither would have survived solely on loot and plunder, neither would have been cities like Gandevi and areas like Sarkhej survived. To say that such number lived on loot and plunder of the travelers seems gravely fallacious. But the important point comes from this that these Kolis are said to have a 'race of horses not equaled in all the East, each valued at fifteen thousand rupees, reported much swifter than the Arabian, and able to continue with reasonable speed a whole day without once drawing bitte'.⁶⁰ To put these Kolis in a single bracket of 'the evshneastly men'⁶¹ appears too much over simplification. We assume that a good number of these people residing in the woody and mountainous areas, would have been breeding horses for sale. Because the horses of good breed, swift and speedy and enduring long distances with less fatigue were always in demand for Mughal chivalry and postal system.⁶² Other than horses, a good number of other commodities were produced in these hilly and forest areas, we would be discussing this aspect in the following pages.

The journey of Mandelslo from Ahmadabad to Surat was also a frightening experience for him. The caravan left Ahmedabad, and safely crossed Mahmudabad, Vasad and Baroda and were about to reach Broach,⁶³ when a band of men came out of the woods 'armed with short pikes, bucklers, bows and arrows, but without any firearms'.⁶⁴ The traveler and his fellowmen bravely fought against these robbers. He gives the details about the skirmishes between the two parties. In this unfortunate event six Rajputs and two Englishmen lost their lives.⁶⁵ The important point which comes from this description is that caravan was accompanied by some soldiers, possessing arms 'three pair of pistols and four firelocks'.⁶⁶ To generalize the statement 'Governors are usually bribed by the thieves to remain inactive'⁶⁷ would be a grave misunderstanding of the situation. In fact, the Governors were responsible for the safety and security within their territories, for which there was a well-developed administrative hierarchy like *Faujdar*, *Kotwal*, and many others.

The study of these accounts, it erroneously appears that the populace of the mountainous regions subsisted on the loot and plunder of the travelers. But while discussing the economy,

one could not afford to skip the mention of various commodities, produced in these mountainous and forest regions. The timber, an important commodity for the dwelling and more importantly for ship building was produced in these areas. From these regions the timber floated down through different rivers and streams. Surat received timber, floating down through the river Tapti.⁶⁸ The ports of Gandevi and Bullsar were the great marts of timber, and English records testify the best variety here at a comparatively cheap rate.⁶⁹

Water and Economy:

The water was a connecting force at different levels, effecting the economy. As the Indian Ocean connected Gujarat with the rest of the world, there were many rivers and streams which facilitated connectivity to the interior as well as to isolated areas. As the shift in the course of rivers doomed the fortunes of an urban pocket, so has routes flourished the fortune of an area. The decline of Cambay and rise of Surat are typified examples, although well dealt by scholars. To look into the port of Gogha, a less dealt port on the east coast of Kathiawad would be an apt endeavor. Though Abul Fazl makes that only small vessels *tawari* were laid from Gogha for Cambay, and vice-versa.⁷⁰ But from the English records this port appears of much significance. Martin Pring, the captain of *Royal James* of 1617 in excitement reports to the Company that he has found a fair channel from Swally to Gogha, from thence to Jungee.⁷¹ He makes it that the money desired to be transferred to Ahmadabad via Surat be instead sent from Gogha, which is 'with three daiesjornay of Cambaia', the reason he submits 'the conveyance would be cheape, secure and speedy, whereas from Surat it is chargeable, tedious and full of danger'. By it the Company would avoid the customs at Broach.⁷² Even the captain advocates to replace the Swally by Gogha, but appraises the Portuguese threat.⁷³ So not only ships arrived, but this port was also a departing point. In 1618 the Royal ship *Jahangir*, departed from this port to Red Sea for merchandize.⁷⁴ In 1621 a small vessel *tawari* of Safi Khan also went from here for merchandize after seeking protection from English. This seems that the vessel would have accompanied with the English ships to avert piracy in general and the Portuguese monster in particular. So, a ship of average tonnage was annually sent from Gogha to Mocha.⁷⁵ But the Portuguese factor always remained there, plus their exactions at Daman port were a discouraging factor for this port.⁷⁶ So the presence of the Portuguese on other side of this port aborted its growth. Apart from this, in the summer the water was receding that it became difficult to course ships into the interior of Cambay.⁷⁷ This port was also known for ship building.⁷⁸

The rivers of Gujarat; *Sabarmati*, *Narbada*, *Tapti*, *Saraswati* and *Mahindari Watrak* and some tributaries like of Ganga and

Yamuna are frequently mentioned in our sources.⁷⁹ While closely taking their role into consideration, we could hardly afford to skip their economic importance. For instance the water of river Narbada was supposed to possess the properties for 'whiting' and 'bleaching'⁸⁰ So the location of Broach on the banks of this river, we assume was the cause for rise of city as center of dying and bleaching of the textiles. So the English soon after their relative stability at Surat, wished a factory at Broach also. Their pleads to Jahangir to establish a house at Broach,⁸¹ and the *farman* granted by the Emperor substantiates this point. The *subadar* of Gujarat Mahabat Khan facilitated English a house on rent at Broach and ordered his officials not to harm the English.⁸² Soon the Dutch followed English and by establishment of Dutch factory,⁸³ it became a competitive place. The French also made their presence here.⁸⁴ The water of the river *Narbada*, as already mentioned enabled this city to be center of dying and bleaching of cotton textiles. The textiles were brought from throughout the Mughal empire,⁸⁵ cut into pieces as per demands and transported to Persian Gulf and Red Sea.⁸⁶ The English had a bleaching plantation of their own, hiring Indian artisans, as English records mention that when the time did not allowed the Company to first by clothes, transship to Broach and get them bleached, they used to buy the bleached goods⁸⁷ The bleaching and dying was a part of the overall process of cloth manufacturing. The Broach became center of the manufacture of *baftas*.⁸⁸ These *baftas* were in high demand in Asian and European cities. In *Globe* 1617 English shipped 1152 pieces of *baftas* for Europe in a single order.⁸⁹

The assertion of seaboard as a 'place of heresy and sedition' and 'attitude towards the sea among Hindu legal scholars generally one of fear and distrust'⁹⁰ has a negligible truth in it. The one's familiarity with the merchant princes of Gujarat would hardly afford one to buy this contention. The fortunes of Parekh family, their engagement in trade and commerce, and their brokerage for English⁹¹ could not have allowed them to remain too far from water.

The abundance of water offered an opportunity to the Gujarat to be the hub transshipment of import and export commodities. The development of many port cities was an expected outcome. But the transport of commodities within Gujarat and with other provinces of the Empire was poignantly dominated by inland transport. This also makes out that most of the cities were found along the water sites. The reason may have been availability of water and access for traffic. But the close proximity to the rivers would have been avoided like Ottomon cities⁹², as we know that many of the rivers dried up in the summer, like Tapti. The stagnant water in the hot summer would have been the cause of many

diseases, and the question how the masses responded to this issue, remained unanswered.

Despite the rich and profitable commerce generated by the European companies in the Indian Ocean, the traditional overland trade, with its wide variety of goods never lost its importance throughout the seventeenth century.

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Endnotes:

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From Ashrama Vidya to Online Education: A Comparative Analysis of Indian Education Systems

Suresh Anuganti

In any given nation, the culture and the philosophy of the particular nation is the chief architect of the education system. This is even true to Indian education system. We find that our education system subjected to many changes from time to time according to prevailing social, religious, political and economic ethos. In fact, the education system mirrors the prevailing socio-cultural life of the society.

Swadese Pujiyate Raja

*Vidyan Sarvartra Pujiyata*¹

The above verse is known to even the general public in India and widely quoted in Indian literature. It means - A king is only honored in his own country, but an intellectual is honored everywhere. In our society education is regarded as a sacred activity which has been revered any point of time in the history of India. This reverence is not for realizing the practical benefits of it; rather education is always viewed as a tool for *moksha* (self-realization).

The present Indian education system has its roots in the ancient period of Indian education. Ancient Indian education was mostly religious in nature and had deep roots in Hindu and Buddhist religion thus, generally classified into *Vedic* system of education and Buddhist system of education. The former system of education was evolved from the texts of *Vedas*, thus also called the *Vedic* system of education. The later one was based on the teachings of Buddha and came into existence to wipe out the malicious practices of the then society.

The Vedic Education System:

According to A.S. Altaker "Religion has deeply saturated Hindu life in almost all of its phases and sphere of education is no exception".² Dr. R. K. Mukherjee observed, "One unique feature of ancient Indian civilization and culture is that it has been moulded or shaped in the course of its history more by religious influences than by political or economic considerations. Religion practically dominated every sphere of their national life and education was no exception."³ Hindus adhere to the principles of *Vedas* which are Sanskrit texts. *Vedas* have critical importance in our religious, social, political and economic spheres of life. They are four in number - *Rigveda*, *Samaveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Atharavaveda*. *Rigveda* was the earliest one and its profound

influence has been evident in present education system also. The *Vedic* period of education was further subdivided by some scholars as *Vedic* period, *Brahmani* period, *Upanishada* period, *Sutra* (Hymn) period, *Smriti* period etc. But such type of classification seems to be not necessary since for all such education systems *Vedic* literature was the basis and there were no crystal clear distinctions among their specific aims and ideals of education. All of them had mostly similar kind of educational practices with regard to curriculum, methods of instruction, etc. Therefore, the education of these periods is generally studied under the *Vedic* period.

The chief aim of the *Vedic* education was the attainment of *Mukthi* (self-realization). "The Hindus are most impressed and affected by the fact of death as the central fact of life. The individual's supreme duty is thus to achieve his expansion into the Absolute, his self-fulfillment, for he is a potential God, a spark of the Divine. Education must assist in this self-fulfillment and not in the acquisition of mere objective knowledge".⁴ While describing the aims of the *Vedic* education A.S. Altaker says, "Formation of character, building up of personality, preservation of ancient culture and the training of the rising generation in the performance of the social and religious duties were the main aims of ancient Indian education".⁵

The teacher's own residence, usually located in the forests, was the place of instruction. This place was called as '*Gurukula*' or '*Ashrama*'. The education of the child starts with the *upanayana samskara*, (a traditional Hindu ritual that a child being accepted as a student by a teacher) where the child was officially handed over to the *Guru* (teacher) for imparting education. The teacher and students used to live together and the teacher was supposed to be high in morals and his character was worth to emulate by students. The close affinity and the relationship between *Guru* and *shishya* (Teacher and Student) was found nowhere in the world cultures of that period. *Guru*'s status was next after the god and he commanded respect from all quarters of society even more than a king. The duty of the teacher to help his students to get mastery not only some general subjects like *Vedas*, *Puranas*, Mathematics, Astrology, Music, Dance etc., but he was responsible for all-round development of his pupil's personality. The students supposed to assist the teacher in getting alms from nearby villages and towns. They learnt kindness, service attitude and paying back to the society as values because their education entirely sponsored by the society. Unlike the present time, the strict discipline was adhered to in *Gurukulas*. Misbehaving with the teacher was regarded as a sin. This unconditional respect and honor had not been an obstacle to the students while asking the questions related to subject matter. In fact, classroom discussion was encouraged

and being a tangible element in ancient teaching-learning pedagogy.

The method of teaching was mainly through oral. Direct and personal contact with the teacher was considered the best method and no other material and methods were adopted to impart education. Since storing the knowledge in book forms was discouraged and also a costly affair in those days, the oral method of teaching and learning was given utmost priority. There were three important stages in the acquisition of knowledge, namely *shravana*, *manana* and *nidhidhyasana*. *Shravana* means hearing the truth. The words that came out from the *Guru* were considered truth; therefore hearing them with full concentration was considered the primary step in gaining the truth. The child had to recite it later accurately without slight deviation with regard to intonation and accent of the words. *Manana* means contemplation, where the student has to reflect on and ponder over the teachings of the teacher. It can be said as making meanings of the transferred knowledge. So that students assimilate the truth which was delivered by the teacher. In this process, the students were allowed to participate in small group discussions where teacher used to ask questions and students answer them through their reflections. *Nidhidhyasana* means living and breathing the truth. *Nidhidhyasana* becomes natural when the two above steps are completed with the utmost accuracy. It can be said as complete comprehension of knowledge and the power of truth is experienced by the students when they once reach the stage of *Nidhidhyasana*. All the students had to go through the above stages. These steps seem to be simple but they were very effective in the ancient Indian education system.

Everyone in the *Rigveda* period had the right to education, irrespective of their caste, class and gender. But during the later *Vedic* period the society was fragmented and divisions based on caste came into existence. The right to *upanayana* was allowed to only three castes, which were higher in the hierarchy - *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya* and *Vysya*. *Shudra* and outcastes were denied the right to *upanayana* and subsequently the right to education.

There were many references in the literature which states that in the *Rigvedic* period women enjoyed the right to education on par with men. Some women like *Ghoshā*, *Lopamudra*, *Sulabha*, *Maitreyi*, and *Gargi*, who composed *Vedic* hymns, were reminded of their scholarship and education even now. But in the later *Vedic* period the status of women came down gradually. Her right to formal education and conducting religious sacrifices were denied. It was argued by many *Smriti*'s writers that rendering equal freedom to the women that of men would become problematic to the entire society and she was supposed to be dependent upon men in every stage of life - as it is understood by following *Manu*'s

words, "In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, and when her lord is dead, to her sons; a woman must never be independent."⁶

In later ancient period, many forms of educational institutions came into existence, particularly in south India, such as *Mathas*, *Ghatikas*, *Agraharas*, *Brahmapuris*. *Agraharas* were said to be the colonies of learned Brahmins and were usually managed by corporate bodies. *Agrahara* was an independent body and rulers of those time maintained distance from its administration. *Mahajanas* (village assembly) had entrusted with powers of management and maintenance these *Agraharas*. *Brahmapuri* was slightly different from the *Agrahara* as it denotes the settlement of the learned *Brahmins* in parts of the cities and towns. There was no such specific corporate body as in the case of *Agrahara* for the administration of *Brahmapuri*. *Ghatikasthana* or *Ghatikas* were the temple colleges. These were higher education centres. '*Kanchipuram*' was the once-famous *Ghatika*. *Matha* was a residential college for students and it also worked as a free feeding house for religious men and as well as for mendicants. All the *Mathas* were attached to some temples or some temples were attached to *Mathas*. Though the form might be different, all of them had played a critical role in promoting *Vedic* education throughout the later ancient period and medieval period with the great patronage of the royals and noble people.

The Buddhist Education system:

During the 6th century B.C. in India, the people were fed up with the complex, ritualistic, Brahmanical favored culture. The people were made to believe that their fate is resultant of the sins they committed in their earlier life, which was not altered how hard work one could do. The society was divided into different fragments, called castes. The lower strata of the society were denied of some privileges, like education, wealth and movement as free as upper caste people and they were exploited socially, culturally and economically.

In such circumstances, the birth of Buddhism gave a fresh breath to the masses and it spread rapidly like a wildfire. Lord Buddha's teachings are based on love, compassion and non-violence. Buddhism denounced all sorts of superstitions, blind beliefs and complex rites. It advocated simple living and avoidance of worldly comforts. Buddha preached that the individual's fate is the result of his/her *karma* (deeds) and by his/her efforts the same *karma* could be altered. He advocated, therefore every human being by observing four Noble Truths, Eight-fold Path' and non-violence try to achieve *Nirvana* (salvation) or *Mukthi*. Buddha upholds democratic and liberal principles in his teachings.

Buddhism gave equal treatment to all without any discrimination irrespective of their caste, gender, religion and region. Such simplistic principles attracted common people and soon became very popular with the help of royal patronage.

During 600 B.C. to 600 A.D., the Buddhist education system had revolutionized the then education system. Buddhist education was centered in Monasteries or *Viharas*. As it was rightly put by R.K. Mukerji "The history of the Buddhist system of education and learning centered around sacrifice. The Buddhist world did not offer any educational opportunities apart from or independently of its monasteries. All education, sacred as well as secular, was in the hands of the monks."⁷

The mass education was neither evolved nor was such trails made. There were some revolutionary changes that the formalization of education began to start with the Buddhist system of education in India. According to A.S. Altaker "The rise of organized public educational institutions may justly be attributed to the influence of Buddhism."⁸ During this period Indian education was world famous that scholars from neighboring countries like Japan, China, Burma, Sri Lanka, Korea etc. were attracted towards Indian educational institutes. Those scholars studied Indian religion, philosophy and other disciplines and they were instrumental in disseminating the seeds of Indian culture in their respective countries.

Buddhist system of education with the help of royal patronage transformed some of the monasteries into world-renowned universities like Nalanda, Taxila and Vikramshila. These universities were purely developed with the existing indigenous structural knowledge and education was rooted in our culture and ethos. No other country had such a defined and well structured educational framework to further diversified education. Such universities were successful in imparting religious and secular education as well.

The important feature of the Buddhist education system was that it was open to all irrespective of gender, caste, creed and religion. Lord Buddha preaches were based on equality and liberal principles. According to K.V. Chandras "Buddhism gave an impetus to female education which was in a state of decline during the Hindu period."⁹ Buddhism gave all equal freedom and equal opportunity to study and develop their inner potentials according to their wish.

Buddhism used education as a tool for the spread the religion across various countries. According to R.N. Sharma and R.K. Sharma, then the education "was to influence the younger

sections of society according to Buddhist thought. To fulfill this primary aim, its secondary aim was to train its monks and nuns for this purpose."¹⁰ There were specific aims which the education was supposed to imbibe within the individuals were: *Mukthi* (Salvation) or *Nirvana*, formation of character, all round development, religious development, preparing for life and social equality were the aims of Buddhist education system.

Monasteries or *Viharas* were the main education centres of the Buddhist system of education. The child was admitted into the monastery with a ceremony called *Pabbajja* (a traditional Buddhist ritual that a child leaves home to live a life of a monk to have education), which was the mark of starting the education period of the child. The child had to reside with the teacher and must follow strict disciplinary rules in entire his 12 years of education period. Students who had been charged with disobedience of rules, indulging in immoral activities and with misconduct used to be expelled from the Buddhist *Viharas*. Like the *Vedic* system, in Buddhist education system also teacher-pupil relation was very cordial, affectionate and harmonious. The student had to help the teacher in manual work and the teacher was responsible for the spiritual and intellectual enlightenment of student.

Buddhist education system's primary aim was to help the individual attain *Mukthi* or *Nirvana*. Therefore, the Buddhist scriptures namely the *Tripitakas* (Three Baskets) formed the main core of the curriculum. This system prioritized vocational education. Along with academic subjects, fine arts, skill-based education like spinning, weaving, painting, stitching and professional studies like medicine, architecture were also included in the curriculum. In later periods, *Vedic* literature also found its place in the Buddhist education system and was said to be the important historical development of Indian education system. During the initial period, the mother tongue had been the medium of instruction. Later *Pali* and *Prakrit* were adopted to be the medium of instruction.

Buddhist thought seems to be different from Hindu philosophy, but the two are similar in many respects. Such differences were clearly visible in their ancient educational theory and practices. Each philosophy of ancient India contributed a different kind of cognitive schemes of life and religion to make as a whole part as the Indian culture and their contribution to the Indian education system are not dissectible as separate elements.

The Islamic Education System in Medieval India:

The rise of Islam had resulted in the political disruption, particularly in Asia continent. India was not an exemption from

it. Muslims invaded India starting from 8th century. They established their rule by defeating Hindu kingdoms and caused to various changes in the then existing socio-cultural, political and religious spheres. The system of education was also undergone many changes including its aims, methods, classroom instruction and education systems overall relation with the larger political and social systems. The then existing *Vedic* and Buddhist education systems were slowly lost their prominence and Islamic education, to propagate its religious and cultural values, earned the patronage of the Muslim royals who ruled India from 11th century to until British established their rule on India.

Propagating Islam and extension of knowledge were the basic objectives of Islamic education. Education was viewed as a tool to impart Islamic religious values, laws and social customs among the students. Such education was solely based on the religion pillars and aimed to make the students religious-minded. Unlike the predecessors, *Vedic* and Buddhist education systems, Islamic education laid greater emphasis on achieving material comforts. *Makthaba* was the primary education centre and *Madarasa* was the higher learning centre. Generally, *Makthabas* were associated with Mosque and used to be maintained by *Molvi*. The child's education used to start with a ceremony called '*Bismillah*'. Children were imparted reading, writing and basic arithmetic skills prior to their admission into *Madarasas*. Generous donations were made by rulers and nobles for the maintenance of *Madarasas*.

Teacher-student relationship was not as cordial as the *Vedic* and Buddhist education systems. This might be due to the absence of the residential facility for the children at the same place where the teacher resides. Miscreants were rendered against severe corporal punishment. The teacher had the full autonomy to maintain and regulate the disciplinary behaviour of the students. Oral and memorization were common methods used in *Makthabas*. Emperor Akbar showed great interest in reforming the method. He insisted to use systemic procedure where knowledge of alphabets, knowledge of words and sentence knowledge was imparted to students, in that order. Akbar's reforms regarding the education system were documented by Abul fazal in his famous work *Ain-e-Akbari*. Akbar's regime was marked as a great reform in education too, as he had laid emphasis to secularize education by delinking it from the Islamic religious clutches. He introduced the study of medicine, geography, philosophy, law, mathematics along with study in Hindu religion and philosophy as well.

Though it had many laudable features in its bag, it was not free from demerits. Especially due to its religious bigotry the followers of other religions were put out of its fold. There were not many pieces of evidence to show that women education was

promoted as much as in the case of men. It paid a blind eye in promoting education other than Persian and Arabic languages, therefore worked as a hindrance in the steadfast development of the vernacular languages.

The Modern Indian Education System:

The aims of education in modern India are more secular than religious. Off course the spirit and influence of religious teachings have a predominant effect in shaping educational aims, they are neutral in nature which advocates *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* (The whole world is a single family).

The British period significantly changed the educational landscape of India. They brought in many changes to the education system since they were in need of human resources who could help them in their administrative and governance works as peons, clerks, etc. British rulers were not concerned to enlighten the Indian masses, they were incapable of maintaining governance with the scarce human resources of their own. Therefore, as envisioned by lord Macaulay they wanted to "...create a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect".¹¹

Modern Indian educational aims were more concerned with preparing an individual ready for the world of work rather than making his self-realization. The science and technological advancements had brought in many changes in the lifestyles of people. Present-day people are interested to know what exists beside them. Superficial powers and much-touted truth which is experienced other than five senses, through meditation or spiritualization, is never been an interesting phenomenon to this generation children.

The modern work world required manpower, who are able to innovate, critically think, quickly analyze, swiftly adapt to new situations, effectively communicate in no time and successfully works with teams. Together all of these skills are referred to as twenty-first-century skills. Accordingly, the education commissions and committees, who were entrusted to propose the required changes to the existing education system, post-independence period, made remarkable recommendations to make the Indian modern education system as to suit the present-day needs whilst rooted in the Indian culture, ethos and knowledge systems. The modern Indian education system is best understood by examining the features of it. They are as follows:

State-regulated Education:

Unlike the earlier times the education realm of India is strictly controlled by the state. The teacher had full autonomy and

curriculum, transaction, pedagogies, financial resources to run *Gurukulas* or *Ashramas* were the scope of the teacher and kings had a no role to play. When education role was realized by the rulers, they took control over education and stringent regulations were imposed. After independence, many educational regulatory structures like Education ministries at the state and central levels, CAGE, UGC, AICTE, NAAC, NCTE, CBSE, NCERT, ICMR etc. were institutionalized to oversee school education and higher education. Regulation, maintain uniform standards across the academic institutions, prescribing model curriculum and funding the research and academic programs are the major responsibilities of these academic bodies.

Education for all:

Democratization of education is the present scenario. Due to the complex social norms and restrictions in ancient India, certain sections of people were excluded from the mainstream society and right to education was denied to them. Therefore, "the founders of the constitution apparently had given due consideration to the fundamental and basic principles of democracy in making the constitution which solemnly resolved to secure all citizens, Justice-social, economic and political."¹² Affirmative action's stemmed from the constitutional provisions to educate masses, particularly scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes. Government of India and state governments initiated different schemes pin pointedly targeting these excluded groups. Recently enacted Right to Education act (RTE act) was a remarkable milestone to achieve that objective. As a result, 97.8% of school-age children are enrolled in primary classes. This is not the same across all levels, as the level increases the GER comes down.

Commercialization of Education:

At present in India, there are three types governmental agencies, namely central, state and local, striving to impart education to the citizens. Along with them, the private sector is also playing a vital role. Almost close to half of the school-going children of India are in the private sector.

Unlike in ancient times, present-day education, quality is purely attributed to commercial parameters. Though the constitution of India guarantees the free and quality education to all the citizens, and various governments at central, state and local levels, time to time allocating a huge amount of financial, infrastructural and human resources to impart quality education within the public educational institutions, these efforts proved to be futile. There is an unprecedented attraction towards private

educational institutions as if they are the centres of quality and relevant education. Various reasons are behind this trend, such as English medium education, high levels of accountability, high-cost inputs related quality improvement, social prestige, excess importance to marks/grades rather than holistic development of students etc.

Materialistic aims of education:

Ancient Indian education aimed to help, *Vedic* or Buddhist, the individual to attain the *Mukthi*/salvation, by imparting him the holistic education. Spiritual values had a profound influence on them. The fast-paced scientific and technological progress of modern world influencing the psyche of the modern world, socio-economic institutions and structures have been subjected to change and accordingly progressive philosophies are emerging which are forming the base for modern educational aims. Indian education is also not exceptional to it. Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) processes have accelerated the change and gradually materialistic aims to gain traction over the spiritual aims in framing the educational policies of the country.

Technology-driven pedagogies:

Traditional methods of teaching like lecturing, recitation, textbook method etc. were the things of the past. The classroom teaching-learning process is embedded with the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT's). Over time, a simple oral recitation method of lecturing while explaining everything on the blackboard was replaced by smart board or digi-board when digital technologies were innovated. Modern pedagogies, on the basis of emanating research shreds of evidence from psychology and cognitive sciences, use sophisticated hardware and software material to make teaching and learning process more fruitful, engaged, interactive and dynamic. A range of smart technologies, from video conferencing, assessment, learning management systems to AI, machine learning, data analytics, and black chain is making it possible that student gets individualized education while sitting in his own home and learning at his own pace.

Student Centric Education:

Psychological and pedagogical shreds of evidence of recent times underline the need in combining all the efforts of the various stakeholders towards creating the congenial learning environment to the child. Child's needs, interests, aptitudes and aspirations are playing a vital role in redesigning the whole education system. Educational aims, curriculum, teaching-learning process, evaluation systems, classroom management strategies etc. were realigned as to create impart child-friendly education rather than teacher-centered or content-centered.

Gigantic education system with quality concerns:

India is the world's second largest country in terms of population. Over 500 million people are in age bracket of 5-20. Due to many initiatives education system in India expanded enormously. At present 15,35,610 schools across India are educating 25,13,09,665 school going children.¹³ As on 31-03-2019 there are 1047 Degree Awarding Universities / Institutions, 41,935 Colleges at Higher Education level in which the total student enrolment is 373.99 Lakhs.¹⁴

The poor quality learning outcomes is plaguing Indian education system. According to ASER reports slightly more than half of all children enrolled in Standard 5th can read at least a standard 2nd level text and only 44% of all children in Standard 8th can solve a 3-digit by 1-digit numerical division problem correctly.¹⁵ The poor learning outcomes are the major problem in Indian higher education also that the passed out students from university education are being not absorbed by the industries due to low level job skills.

Lost status of Teacher:

Teacher used to be the most reverential, father like and an ideal personality to emulate in ancient society. As it was rightly said by poet Sant Kabir.

Guru Govind dono khade kake lagu paay

Balihari Guru aapki Govind diyo batay.

He asks, "If both, *Guru* and God in form of *Govind* were to appear at the door, whose feet will I worship first?" He answers, "It has to be the *Guru's* feet first, because without him, how would I have recognized (known) God?"¹⁶ Until recently, the teacher had a great status which he/she enjoyed from centuries. When education changed its form as a free service to the commercial commodity, the teacher's status started to erode. The recent National Education Policy (NEP-2019) draft document timely emphasized the need to revive and restore the high status to the teaching profession.¹⁷

Education from everywhere and at any time:

The personal and direct contact between the teacher and students used to be the norm in ancient times. Modern technology allows to educational institutes and teachers to leverage appropriate technical devices and seamless internet connectivity in devising effective teaching-learning strategies at the lowest cost with the highest efficiency. This trend leads to democratizing the knowledge, contrary to ancient times, where opaqueness of the

education system was the important feature and knowledge was open to only a few sections of the society.

Several new types of educational environments evolved over a period of time to offer the students life-long learning opportunities, from the womb to tomb, via distance, correspondence and synchronous or asynchronous modes. Recently evolved Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC's) and Learning Management Systems technologies have the potential to revolutionize the whole education systems. The accessibility, affordability, and easy availability features of them will definitely attract the even remotest students to get educated by the world's most acclaimed universities.

Pandemic induced Disruption:

In the most recent times the world is witnessing a greater disruption in all walks of life which is being said to be an unprecedented situation in the history of humanity. Education is also bearing the brunt as all over the world educational institutions – schools, colleges and universities – have shut their doors due to the fear of pandemic looming large and corona virus is spreading like a wildfire, thus, the proximity of even two individuals will become lethal to both. Across India, the responses of educational institutions are different in varying degrees as some private institutions, due to their preexisting infrastructure and seamless network facilities have adapted to the new norm very easily by shifting their campus academic spaces into virtual space and whereas other low costs private and public-funded institutions are suffering the most as they are scarce of infrastructural, financial, human and pedagogic resources.

The impact of such disruption may result in the path-breaking changes in our education system. It has the potential to accelerate the online mode of educational transactions worldwide since the uncertainty over endpoint to corona virus spread. Educational Institutions may gear up to deal with such disruption by scaling their strength in terms of infrastructure, human and pedagogic resources. The already existing online mechanisms like, SWAYAM, NROER, NDL, e-PG PATHASHALA etc. may be leveraged and scaled in such an extent that it fulfils all students' needs belonging to various disciplines. There is no doubt, in private players like Course era, Edx, Udemy etc. will become educational majors in the recent future as they give the opportunity to the students to join in a course of the world's most acclaimed university without stepping out from his house. Blended learning will become the new norm in post pandemic world as many studies already have shown it clear that the better cognition and comprehension on the part of the student is possible when both offline and online

technologies work hand in hand in a complementary manner to further the learning of students.

Conclusion:

The above information leads to a question, 'which system of education has the best qualities?' All have their own advantages and disadvantages since the education systems are not built on a vacuum. They are the resultant of the different cultural, philosophical, social and economic and religious factors that exist in that time period, which works in a combined manner and form as a basis to the education system. It is absurd to argue that the ancient education system was full of virtues and could be emulated without any alteration or remodeling. The elapsed time has witnessed radical changes in socio-economic structures, major breakthroughs in science and technological realms. Our country cannot limit itself whilst all the modern nations are competing to emerge as a superpower through advancement in scientific and technological fields. The blend of ancient and modern Indian knowledge systems is the just path that creates future citizens as holistic personalities, humane with the heart and progressive with the mind.

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The Stage Craft of Surabhi Drama: History and Evolution

Bhargavi Kaveti

Growth of Regional theatre in India:

Drama as an audiovisual expression of life highlights social and moral codes, philosophical inclinations and political scenarios of the society and thus becomes an integral part of the culture. In ancient India, Sanskrit theatre was considered the sole representative of Indian culture and heritage, as it has always been associated with temples and celebrates religious festivals.

Drama is an art of story-telling, it represents life of its subjects both the ordinary and the elite, through narrative poetry and the techniques of visual arts. Bharata, the author of *Natyasastra*, the handbook of Indian dramaturgy says, "Theatre helps visualization of human experiences in a concrete and meaningful form. It draws elements from all available sources to achieve the desired result. There is no maxim, no learning, no art, no craft, no device, and no action that is not found in the drama"¹

It was during a relatively peaceful period between the 1st century and 10th century A.D. that Sanskrit drama and theatre flourished. "Broadly speaking, the origin of Indian drama can be traced back to Vedic period. It is fully believed that the dramatic tradition of ancient Hindus was fully developed even before the Greek drama came to their knowledge"². Since ancient times, both Sanskrit theatre and other regional theatres in the vernacular languages co-existed. The popularity of the former can be attributed to the fact that Sanskrit was the official language of the kinsmen. "Owing to invasions from Middle East, the period of development and growth of rural theatre forms began about the 15th century and continued throughout 19th century"³. Many temples were desecrated by the foreign invaders that destroyed the theatre houses built within the temple premises. Later, certain local groups assumed the responsibility of both entertaining the masses and restoring the dramatic traditions.

The rise of Bhakti movement that emphasized on Vaishnava school of thought gave religious connotation to drama for the revival of Hinduism. Drama is then perceived as form of worship to Lord Vishnu who reincarnated as Lord Rama and Lord Krishna. Thus the themes of Ramayana and Mahabharata are commonly found in folk dramas across India. Major transformation in the tradition of folk dramas after being amalgamated to Bhakti movement is the inculcation of religious prayers and rituals in their form. This practice resembles the purvaranga tradition of Sanskrit theatre and eventually became part of important festivals and fairs of their community. Thus regional theatre performances replaced the lack of dramatic activity in rural areas.

Another major factor that helped regional theatres to flourish was the implementation of The Dramatic Performances Act of 1876⁴ by the British government to suppress the growing dissent towards colonialism. English educated Indians made theatre as a medium to express dissent and spread the awareness about the need for independence among the masses. Following the act, the playwrights thoughtfully replaced the political themes in plays by historical and mythological themes. They adapted a style of incorporating cryptic messages within the scope of a mythological drama to fulfill their agenda. Hence even during the colonial era, regional theatre was well received and appreciated by educated elite and was not considered a mere form of entertainment for the rustic people.

Indian dramas in English written by educated elite were plainly intended for reading. "Whereas in rural theatres, writing is only one aspect of the play; the other predominant one is the performance"⁵. A dramatic performance depends on basic human impulses leading to movements and gestures. Majority of plays in regional theatres are retelling of Ramayana and Mahabharata as people perceive it as an act of service to God. Bharata muni, the author of *Natyasastra* which served as a handbook for theatre performance, states that drama is equated to Yagna (ritual) and merely watching a drama is a divine act that pleases God. "According to Indian dramatic tradition drama is not less than a ritual performed for the individual and social welfare"⁶.

"In villages traditional folk theatre is parallel stream that has been part of villager's life. Again there is professional folk theatre performed by professionals, who have formed communities"⁷. This holds true for people of Aare community who have established a professional Telugu theatre named "Surabhi" in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The paper attempts to provide an overview of the history and the technical evolution of Surabhi theatre.

Aare Community:

The first mention of the clan "Aare" was in *Vrishaadipa satakam* written by a 13th century saivaite poet Palkuriki Somanatha. "Somanatha was the first to invest the word 'Aare' with linguistic, regional and religious connotations"⁸. Later The word Aare was mentioned by Nudurupati Venkanarya (18th century), he referred 'Aare' as 'Maharashtra' in his work '*Andhra Bhasharnavam*'. Aare Marathis have been part of Andhra Pradesh and the present day Telangana, for more than a century. During 17th century, Aare people migrated from Maharashtra to Thanjavur located in TamilNadu which was then conquered by the army of Chatrapati Shivaji. After the downfall of Maratha kingdom in TamilNadu, Aare Marathis migrated to villages of

Andhra Pradesh and started cultivating agricultural lands for livelihood.

Aare people prefer to be called "Kshatriyas", hence they are called Aare Kshatriyas or Aare Marathis. On a regular basis they cultivate their lands, but when there is a need to protect their locality from bandits or any other attacks they assume the role of a warriors and protectors. "Because of their valorous heritage, many Aare people were appointed "Village protectors" called Nayaks, also called Palegandlu"⁹. During mid 19th century Britishers hired 'Aare' people to seize the incursion of 'Pindaris' on Rayalaseema. The courage of Aare people, who fought vigorously and controlled the Pindaris, appeased the British government. They received accolades of several acres of land as a token of gratitude for their service to the British.

Villages in Telangana region that are densely populated with Aare people are named 'Aare pallelu' and in Andhra they are named 'Marathi Pallelu'. The mother tongue of Aare community is Aare Marathi which does not have its own script because it's a dialect of Marathi language limited to those living in Andhra Pradesh. Their main deity is Mother Bhavani which naturally makes them inclined to Saivism, but the families living across the Andhra-Maharashtra bordering districts namely Adilabad and Nizamabad embrace Vaisnavism, their deity is Shri Chakradhara swamy. Eventually, Aare Marathis formed a composite culture of Maharastrian and Telugu ones.

The present day Surabhi drama troupes of Andhra and Telangana were founded by people from Aare communities. The families of Aare community hold surnames namely Vanarasa, Rekandar, Aveti and Sindhe, when they grew large in number, they migrated to various parts of Andhra. Among these four families of Aare community, Vanarasa family stood as the fore runner of the present day Surabhi drama as mentioned by Modali Nagabhushana Sarma in his work 'The Surabhi Theatre of Andhra: A Living Legend'."Three such branches can be identified. One, the family that settled down in the Rayalaseema area and came to be called the 'Surabhi' branch; the second one is the 'Ramadurgam' branch and settled down in the Telangana area as agriculturists; and the third one is the 'Balakonda' branch, settled originally in northern Telangana adjoining Maharashtra, several of its members going to Bombay in 1930s to find jobs in newly emerging cinema industry."¹⁰

We shall further discuss their transition from agriculture to leather puppetry and finally towards theatre and performing arts.

Vanarasa Family and Tolu Bommalata (Leather Puppetry):

The discussion about the Surabhi theatre troupe would be incomplete without discussing about its association with leather puppet plays in its initial years. Generally speaking, the rural audiences were equally entertained by puppet shows as they would be amazed by theatre performances. The low cost of production for leather puppets made it a feasible option of livelihood for rural entertainment troupes. "The puppeteers performed stories from 'The Mahabharata' and 'The Ramayana', occasionally adding stories from local legends, which are extensions of the epics such as 'Lakshmana Moorcha' and 'Mairavana'. For a long time, its performances had enjoyed a ritualistic obligation in a village since the villagers believed that a puppet show during the Ram Navami festival was auspicious and would bring rains"¹¹.

"Amazing arrays of puppet-theatre forms are also part of the heritage of Indian village life. Shadow, glove, doll and string puppets have a place in various regions of the country. The shadow forms include Gombeyatta, Pavaikuthu, Ravana Chayya and Tolu Bommalu. The glove forms include Gopalila, Pavai Kathakali, Pavai Koothu. The doll forms are Bommalattam and Putul Nautch. The string forms are Katputli and Sakhi Kundhei"¹². To be more specific, 'Doll Theatre' (Puppet play) was major stake holder in providing entertainment to rural population of India. It is earliest form of narrative drama, besides 'Scroll Theatre' (Patam Kathalu). In doll theatre, narration is done by manipulating wooden puppets whereas in scroll theatre, leather puppets are used. Due to high inflation in cost of production, scroll theatre is transformed into leather puppet play. It was also a common practice that a puppet team is formed by a single family, occasionally joined by relatives for crucial performances.

Let us now discuss how the Vanarasa family has shifted from agriculture to Leather puppet plays for their livelihood. Previous scholarly studies inform that Sanjeeva Rao, a member of Vanarasa family was earliest ancestor of Surabhi artists. He used to cultivate a small piece of land which he inherited. The area where he lived was once severely affected by drought, as a means to find solution to the problem; he immolated himself to god of rain, which was believed to be the only solution by the local people then. His decision had crippled his family which comprised of his two wives and ten children. His first wife Channamma is mother of six sons Ramaiah, Subbaiah, Veeraiah, Krishnaji, Venkoji, Ramoji and a daughter Ammannamma. His second wife Anjanamma had two sons Kondaiah and Krishnaji and a daughter Hanumakka. Now the two widows of Sanjeeva Rao Channamma and Anjanamma took up the responsibility of raising the children. The eldest of all sons, Ramaiah, helped the family. Three sons of

Channamma, Krishnaji, Venkoji and Ramoji, who are youngest among her children, were very enthusiastic to take up Tolu Bommatala (Leather Puppet Play) as their main profession. Whereas the three elder brothers were reluctant to completely depend on Leather Puppet Play for their financial needs.

Even though her elder sons restrained the idea of puppet shows for livelihood and stayed aloof, Channamma became the supporting pillar for all the young aspiring puppeteers of her family. All three brothers went on to gain expertise in three areas of puppetry. Krishnaji learnt a musical instrument 'Mridanga', Venkoji mastered the art of singing and Ramaiah became a 'Tala' player. Even the young girls of the family Ammannamma and Papabai (daughter of Subbaiah) became meritorious singers. They even mastered the art of puppet making, and the credit for this achievement must be given to Venkoji, who developed a profound knowledge of colour and ornamentation by observing temple sculptures. The Vanarasa family soon rose to fame in districts of Bellary, Anantapur and Kadapa. The family gave highest priority to perform in Kadapa district as they were very much appreciated by the people of that district.

Transformation from Puppetry to Theatre:

One day during their stay at a village named Hanumagundam, for a performance, the family found an orphan young boy, Pakeeranna. The boy was adopted by Venkoji and was named Govindappa. He got accustomed to the new family and learnt the art of puppetry in no time. But the family's tradition of asking for alms after the performance was very humiliating for him. When he could not convince his family to discard the practice, he ran away from home while he was barely eighteen years old. He reached Nandyal, a small town in Kurnool district. "The night he landed at Nandyal, Govindappa chanced to see a play performed by a local theatrical company, called 'The Jyothi Subbaiah Company'"¹³.

The proprietor of the company, Jyothi Subbaiah is from community named 'Kalavanthulu'; he formed an all women troupe consisting of Devadasis and their performance reflected a folk theatre style known as 'Bayalata'. Govindappa found the play to be a little similar to the art form his parents perform; with only difference being that the performers here amalgamated songs with prose. Govindappa requested Jyothi Subbaiah to assign him any petty job in the company. To hide his original identity he worked with the name Govinda Rao, later in his life he became well known with the new name. "While he was in the Jyothi Subbaiah Company, He learnt the art of stitching costume, making necklaces with coloured glass pieces, making wigs and crowns. More than these, he liked the way actors did their make up with zinc powder

and ardalam which glittered and gave a glowing hallowness to the face"¹⁴. It was only when Venkoji and Ramoji promised Govindappa that they won't insist him for the post performance alms begging that Govindappa agreed to go with them back to puppetry. He further made it clear that the family must be proactive to take up theatre as their family profession whenever an opportunity arises.

In the year 1885, the Vanarasa family received an invitation sent by Allapureddy Chennareddy and Kovuri Ramireddy (the former's daughter is about to get married to the latter's son) to perform a puppet show during the wedding ceremony. It was this invitation that changed the course of Vanarasa family that further went on to become a well recognized professional Telugu theatre that flourished for many decades in Andhra and Telangana. Both the patrons of the show were rich landlords of the village named 'Sorugu' which is now called Surabhi. As the leader of the group Peda Ramaiah agreed to perform during at the wedding ceremony and further planned to play 'Keechaka vadha' episode from Mahabharata. Govinda Rao appealed to his family that the same puppet show can be enacted as a play. The episode of 'Keechaka vadha' was perfect choice for their first stage performance as it has ample scope for song sequences and dual fights. The play also has mythological importance, as Pandavas were silenced into slavery for Draupadi's insult in their own kingdom but while they are living in exile in the court of Virata Maharaj, his brother-in-law Keechaka's undue advances towards draupadi received backlash from Bhima.

The patrons of the show agreed for this new experimentation when Peda Ramaiah approached them with the idea of performing a drama instead of puppet show, as they would be the first family in their taluq to sponsor a stage performance for a wedding ceremony. Although a bit apprehensive at the beginning, the entire crew was prepared for their first stage performance under the guidance of Govinda Rao. The impromptu decision did not affect their on stage performance because the dialogues and the casting of the play remained the same except the recitation was in front the audience. The musical instruments were managed by a member who ever was backstage at a given moment. The most unique aspect of their performance was women characters were played by women which was not a common practice for most of drama troupes. Since it was the first on stage drama in the taluq, officials of the district also have attended the show apart from the relatives of the Reddys.

The affluence of the patrons and their role in the local administration under British government naturally included T. N. Govindarajulu Naidu, the Sub-Magistrate of Pulivendala into

their guest list; he was amazed by the play and suggested the Reddys to adopt the troupe. The two Reddys heeded his advice and extended their financial support to Vanarasa family by providing them a building for their residence in their village. The central hall of the building has mirrors mounted on the walls, for the actors to practice their gestures while they rehearse for their plays. The Vanarasa, Rekandar, Aveti, Sindhe families have added Surabhi as their common family name to express their gratitude towards the Reddys' act of kindness.

Inception of Sarada Manovinodini Sabha:

In its initial stages Surabhi Theatre troupe started with the name Sarada Manovinodini Sabha, given by its First director. After the first ever drama performed by Vanarasa family in the village Sorugu, there was a realization that the team needs professional trainer to equip them with techniques of the mainstream theatre. It was the foresight of Chenna Reddy that he identified the need for an instructor, who would teach the nuances of acting in a professional theatre, to the amateur Surabhi artists. He persuaded the team to adapt the techniques of 'Padya Natakam' (new poetic drama) as there was an essence of Bayalata in their performance. Finally in 1889, they found the stalwart, Rapatati Subbadas, the first director of Surabhi troupe. He has an expertise both in music and acting, to groom the budding artists, he explained them how to synchronize music with the mood and situation in the scene. "He wrote plays for them on the lines of the Padya Natakam and trained them in theatre music and diction and transformed their entire stage behavior. The credit for making Surabhi acceptable outside, to a great extent, goes to him"¹⁵. He contributed three plays to the repertoire of Surabhi, namely Harischandra, Sarangadhara and Sakuntala. Although he played lead roles in all the afore mentioned dramas, he later shifted to senior roles like Viswamitra, Raja Raju and Kanva, as he has trained Peda Ramaiah for the lead roles in the due course.

In terms of technical details of stage, Krishnaji and China Ramaiah learnt the technique of building a collapsible stage with Palmyra leaves and thick Curtains, and they later used Zinc sheets as side walls instead of cloth curtains. They also acquired the art of painting the background screens from two madras painters, Venu and Ranganayakulu, who taught them upon request of Reddys. While Subbadas taught the artists how to wear the costumes and ornaments, Govinda Rao took the pleasure of preparing the ornaments and crowns as he was already an expert in it. There were no fancy products available for make-up, so a mixture of chalk, yellow and red ochres was used for the purpose. They further replaced oil fed hand torches with kerosene luster lights for stage lighting and the costumes they designed for their

plays, replicated that of Parsi theatre. Subbadas decided that having mastered various aspects of stage production, the troupe should have a unique identity, so he named it 'Sri Sarada Manovinodini Sabha' and wrote a prayer song in praise of lord Ganesha, "Shri Sailaja Suta.. Surabhipura Sri Sarada Manovinodini"¹⁶. Around 1890, he introduced ticket system for which they earned Rs.100/- per show, unlike Rs.5/- which was their daily income for their puppet shows. This was the family's humble beginnings towards the journey of transforming themselves into a professional theatre group.

Evolution and Expansion of Surabhi Theatre:

Around 1900, Peda Ramaiah gracefully took over the responsibility of leading the Sarada Manovinodini Sabha as it was evident that Subbadas is still yearning to pursue his old interest, Harikatha. During the period of 1860-1900, the company performed in the Rayalaseema region covering Kadapa, Kurnool and Anantapur districts and later went on to perform in coastal regions of Andhra. From 1901, the tours became extensive and the duration of stay at each place is never short of a month and a half. The tours would usually be on ten months duration and rainy season was meant for halting for a while and planning for the next tour.

At this point of time, the repository of the troupe was limited to five plays. To enhance the scope for performance, it is of prime importance to adapt more plays from various sources. Krishnaji adopted and improvised two plays from Gubbi company of Bellary, namely 'Sadarama' and 'Bhallana Rajana Kathe' and created 'Kanthamati' and 'Bhallana Raju Charitra' respectively. Vajjala Chintamani Sastry's 'Chandrakantha' became part of Surabhi repository while they were performing in Srikakulam. Chandrakantha and Kanthamati were well received in Machilipatnam in the year 1903. 'Kanthamati' stayed intact in the repository till 1950's later it went through lot of improvisations under different sub branches of Surabhi. While the Surabhi troupe was residing in Vishakapatnam, Marepalli Ramachandra Sastry, a playwright remodeled his two plays according to the requirements of the troupe, thus 'Parijathapaharanam' and 'Bilhaneeeyam' were added to the repository. Further, the Surabhi troupe adopted two plays from the mainstream theatre i.e., 'Rukmangada' by Bethapudi Bhagavantha Rao and 'Subadhra Parinayam' which were used for their performance at Madras and Rangoon during 1912-1913. Thus it is evident that Surabhi troupes were proactive in adopting and improvising plays into their repository besides the regular practice of hiring a playwright or director for writing plays exclusively for them.

The tours were not limited to performing and projecting the essence of Surabhi theatre, the members observe and adopt various techniques of other theatre companies which may help in enriching themselves to a professional theatre. "The troupe acquired new technical skills wherever and whenever they came across such innovations. At Narsaraopet they saw a gaslight with two burners and immediately acquired one. In Guntur they came across a harmonium used for Sruti and adopted it immediately after acquiring one from Madras. Until then, they only used a windpipe made of leather, called 'titti', for Sruti. Venkoji played on the violin for important scenes"¹⁷. One more major change is Govina Rao and China Ramaiah collectively replaced the use of Lambada pattis with Zinc sheets for constructing a hall. During 1903-04, the troupe covered Warangal and Secunderabad in Telangana, the trip benefitted as they got a chance to see Parsi company's play for the first time. China Ramaiah observed several techniques of Parsi troupes that can be employed in their productions, especially harmonium being used in the pit of the auditorium rather than in the side wings. The trip has further importance in the history of Surabhi theatre because it was during the stay in Secunderabad, that the musical talent of Venkubai, wife of Krishnaji was recognized by Dharmavaram Gopalacharyulu, a playwright. She was felicitated with the title Janjhuti Venkubai as she mastered the Jhanjuti raga. Their second encounter with Parsi plays was in Madras during 1905-06, the production techniques of Parsi theatres fascinated the Surabhi troupe.

The company reached its pinnacle during 1885 to 1910. By 1910 the family grew and subsequently set up separate units in different parts of the state but the identity of the troops remained same as they still carried the name 'Sri Sarada Manovinodini Sabha'. Peda Ramaiah and his wife Ramabai, Venkaiah, Krishnaiah, Anjanamma and Janjuthi Venkubai, Krishnaji's wife belong to first generation; Govinda Rao, Papabai, China Ramaiah and Anjanappa belong to second generation. Krishnaji selected Rayalaseema area, Peda Ramaiah selected Telangana region and Venkaiah settled in Coastal Andhra. In 1927, when China Ramaiah wanted to be independent from Govinda Rao's supervision and started his own company with the name Sarada Manovinodi Nataka Sabha. Eventually Govinda Rao started a company "Govindaraya Surabhi Natyamandali", the first company to have reference to 'Surabhi' that resonates with their humble beginnings in the village 'Sorugu'. Other families that started their own companies further continued the practice of adding the word 'Surabhi' to their company name.

One limitation that arouses due to advent of Telugu Cinema industry during 1930's- 40's is that Surabhi performances got

shifted to rural areas. The initial trouble was to meet the expectations of audience in terms of reciting poems; this gap was filled by outside talent. In terms of popularity in rural areas only few plays like Maya Bazar, Bala Nagamma, Lava Kusa, Sri Krishna leelalu, Veera Brahmam gari Charithra and Harischandra were supreme success. On the positive side, the Cinema industry's growth is not completely detrimental on the performance of Surabhi theatre. Few actors of Surabhi utilized the cinema screen to improve their talent and increase the scope of performance for the theatre artists. "The first telugu talkie- Bhakta Prahlada, 1932-directed by H.M. Reddy and was shot at Calcutta starred a Surabhi stalwart as the first heroine of the Telugu cinema- Surabhi Kamala Bai"¹⁸. Other remarkable artists who developed career in the Cinema industry are Bala Saraswathi and Aveti Baba Rao. Besides Aveti Baba Rao, Vanarasa Ramamohan Rao and Eshwar also worked as musicians in the Cinema industry.

Surabhi Nataka Kala Sangham:

During 1935-56, the family expanded and settled in various locations for their performances. The theatrical excellence of all the members of Surabhi family irrespective of their location resulted in development of 36 associations out of which 10 are major and 26 are minor companies. These associations are marked as major company and minor company based on the number of plays in their repository, their self-sufficiency in terms of cast & crew and other equipment. The major companies have their own equipment which includes curtains, furniture, lighting materials and they must have at least 15 plays in their repository whereas in minor companies the number of plays in the repository is limited to six or seven and these companies often borrow actors from major companies of their family for any large scale performances. The major setback was that some of these companies were run by actors who had little knowledge about administrative aspects and managing finances or advertising about the shows. The companies also desperately tried to cope up with the style of verse drama (padya natakam) of contemporary Telugu theatre. They fell short of the singing talent and had to replace it with tricks and thus Surabhi drama was reduced to gimmicks and special effects.

In 1956, 'Surabhi Nataka Kala Sangham' an apex theatre organization which is homogenous for Surabhi Company was initiated by Rekandar China Venkata Rao as president and Aveti Nageswar Rao as Secretary. During 1956-60, all the major and minor companies developed into fully equipped theatres with their own repository, actors and a proprietor (manager). These major and minor companies had to adapt to the changing times and started adding sociological plays into their individual repositories; most famous among them are Stree Samrajyam, Zamindar and

Krishnaveni etc. Surabhi Nataka Kala Sangham was proactive in responding to the needs of the Surabhi families and was instrumental in seeking financial aid from the government to set up their own colonies in Hyderabad and Bhongir (Telanagana). Since 1960, the Sangham celebrates the death anniversary of Vanarasa Govinda Rao that commences on December 19, as Surabhi day in his memory.

The Nataka Kala Sangham had amicable relations with mainstream theatre and directors as well. In 1996, B.V. Karanth, a theatre director, as a part of his workshop assignment with department of Theatre arts, Osmania University attended plays performed by Sri Venkateswara Natya Mandali at Bhongir. He proposed to National School of Drama that Surabhi's repository should be upgraded with new plays that reflect modern theatre techniques. National School of Drama sponsored the program through its regional research centre, Bangalore and the venue selected for the workshop was Bommala Ramaram. The team selected a Bengali play, Bhisma by D.L.Roy and got it translated to Telugu by a poet dramatist Andra Samba Murthy and Mr. Karanth directed the play. The Surabhi and Karanth duo further produced Chandi Priya and Basti Devata Yadamma. In the same style, Sri Vinayaka Natya Mandali collaborated with Burra Subramanya Sastry to produce Shiridi Sai Mahatyam. Though these plays had been produced with much effort due to lack of essence of Surabhi these plays are not as equally appreciated as that of earlier ones in the Surabhi repository.

Stage Production:

All the learning experiences of the Surabhi companies can be clearly witnessed in their stage production. Let us have a broad view of various aspects that they address to produce a play when the company is about to perform at any selected venue. Generally open spaces in rural areas and open grounds in urban areas are selected for the performance and the hall is constructed at the centre of the open space. The walls of the hall are raised with zinc sheets and the roof of the stage is also covered with a zinc sheet. All the zinc sheets are held together using wires and ropes instead of nails so that the hall can be easily dismantled post performance.

The auditorium has a pit which is of 3 feet depth, 40 feet in length and breadth, for the first class audience. Earlier only first class audiences were seated on chairs and the rest would sit on matted floors, which has now changed and all the audience enjoy the performance properly seated in the auditorium. Just between the pit and the stage, orchestra is placed with harmonium, table and keyboard. The stage is equipped with 15 curtains held by ropes which are tied to rods suspending from the roof. Usually scenery of a forest, a garden, a street with a temple and an interior

of a palace are painted on the curtains are recurring for most of the plays. The curtains are placed across the stage from proscenium to centre stage and the last section; this facilitates quick changing of curtains between the scenes as the lights are quickly turned off and turned on. Right at the central area of the stage there is a Bhoogaram or Bhugruham¹⁹ (Elizabethan stage pit) to create an effect of sudden appearance or disappearance of any extra celestial characters.

In the initial stages Surabhi used hand torches for lighting and then petromax lights with two mantles were used in 1901. They experimented with dynamo lights in 1927 and water dimmers in 1957 and from 1960 they have adapted the use of metallic dimmers for lighting on stage. Lighting also sets the mood of the scene, for emotional and ferocious scenes red lighting is used whereas blue lighting is used for dream sequences or romantic scenes. Either special blue colour make-up or blue coloured costumes are allocated to Krishna's character. Face masks and moulds are used for characters like Narasimha and Ravana. Narada muni descending on to earth to tell a prologue of the story and flying beds in 'Maya Bazaar' is done using special wiring. Prison door unlocking in 'Krishna Leelalu' and the clash of arrows in a dual fight are supported by special wires and then followed by a cracker sound. Elaborate poems are recited after most of the dialogues and few important ragas that are played by the orchestra for Sruti are Kalyani, Mohana and Kambhoji. So we can safely claim that the lighting, music, costumes, make-up, stage setting and special effects of the Surabhi theatre are on par with the professional mainstream telugu theatre. Thus the family which once started with puppet shows became well acclaimed theatre group of Andhra and Telangana.

Conclusion:

The peculiar feature of Surabhi drama troupe that makes it stand out from other commercial theatres is that all the actors belong to same family. Every member of the family is trained in all aspects of performance arts from childhood. Even marriage alliances are made strictly among their families so that the art form is sustained. This dedication of the Surabhi families to revive their family tradition of Stage Performance, have continued for generations together. Surabhi became a large family unit, with the efforts of Govinda Rao, Peda Ramaiah, China Ramaiah, Venkoji and Krishnaji. The glory of Surabhi theatre saw a gradual decline due to migration of Surabhi artists into the Telugu Cinema industry owing to its tremendous popularity. Lack of financial stability due to decline in theatre audience compelled Surabhi family members to work in menial jobs. Irrespective of their financial condition, Surabhi theatre troupes strive to maintain their

family tradition with occasional performances especially during festivals like Dussera and Rama Navami. At present there are only five companies actively contributing to theatre, namely Sri Venkateswara Natya Mandali (Manager- Rekandar Nageswara Rao), Sri Sarada Vijaya Natya Mandali (Manager- Aveti Rama Mohan Rao), Sri Vinayaka Natya Mandali (Manager- Rekandar Venugopala Rao), Vijaya Bharati Natya Mandali (Manager- Vanarasa Damodar Rao), Sri Bhanodaya Natya Mandali (Manager- Rekandar Nageswara Rao). Even in the era of mass media and digital media, these five families are religiously contributing to sustain their tradition of theatrical excellence.

Endnotes:

¹Drama is a composite art form that involves dance, music, singing and acrobatics.

²Indian dramatic tradition dates back to Vedic period.

³Foreign invasions on India resulted in restructuring of socio-cultural conditions of Indian Performing arts.

⁴British government imposed an act to restrict the role of theatre in Indian nationalist movement.

⁵Oral traditions form source of regional dramas.

⁶Drama is believed to be a medium to appease the divine.

⁷In India, every community has its own form of drama.

⁸Aare word has multi-faceted reference to a community of Maharashtra.

⁹Earlier, villages maintained local armies.

¹⁰Members of Aare community settled across Andhra Pradesh.

¹¹Aare puppeteers performed during festivals.

¹²India has various forms of Puppetry with regional variations.

¹³Govinda Rao, the pioneer of present day Surabhi theatre joined Jyothi Subbaiah Company.

¹⁴Govinda Rao learnt making costumes, jewellery and makeup material to start a new drama company.

¹⁵Rapatati Subbadas was the director of First theatre association founded by Surabhi artists.

¹⁶Prayer to Lord Ganesha before starting a play, is part of Indian theatre tradition.

¹⁷Surabhi artists adopt sophisticated Stage craft techniques from various sources.

¹⁸Surabhi artists entered Telugu Cinema industry to expand their artistic fervor.

¹⁹A pit dug at the center stage used to create an illusion of emerging idols of god or any magical elements.

Creating Their Own Priesthood: Emergence of Shilpkar Brahmans in Uttarakhand

Isha Tamta

The Caste system and the evil practice of untouchability have for long been known as peculiar social practices existing in India. Caste and untouchability, as recent studies have pointed out, exist beyond India, in other countries of South Asia and elsewhere in the world.¹ The meanings of untouchability or even its sources whether religion or tradition vary across region so also its forms ranging from physical touch and residential segregation to taboos and restrictions on inter-dining, physical movement or pursuing occupations of one's choice. Its effects of them on the suffering people are quite similar such as economic deprivation, discrimination and a life full of humiliation. Caste differences exist not simply in terms of distinctive group identities or ethnic difference, reproduced through caste endogamy, but also in terms of hierarchy and ideas of purity and pollution. One of the striking features of the discrimination is associated with low types of profession and residential segregation. Caste differences are also not simply cultural or economic differences. Dr. Ambedkar argued that caste inequality is graded inequality, where inequality exists at all levels of social groupings. Even those classified as outcastes are also internally divided and unequal. These differences not only make it difficult for the lower castes to mobilize against the powerful, but it also institutionalizes discrimination and exclusion in a much more complicated way. Discrimination becomes a cultural trait in such social formations.²

The word Shilpkar did not denote a particular caste group but was used as an umbrella term for all the artisanal communities (nearly 54 sub-castes) engaged in different occupation such as: craftsmen, technician, architect, musician communities of the region. All the artisanal communities in Kumaun and Garhwal region came under one umbrella and began to construct their identity as Silpakars.

In Kumaun and Garhwal the social structures are almost similar except that we find only three fold varna system instead of four fold system which is prevalent in other parts of India. Tuljat or Asli jat who consisted of Brahmans and Kshatriyas and Khasa or Khasiya who were the largest ethnic group of the region whose members formed the traditional peasantry and the next largest ethnic group was Doms, who served the cultivators as artisans and farm servants. The numerically small Tuljat-Brahmins and Rajputs, who were supposed to be the descendants of the migrants from the plains, commanded high ritual status. Tuljats traditionally considered themselves superior to the Khasas and the Doms. This was reflected in their strict observation of religious

practices and other caste rules. Thuljats tried to conform to the practice of orthodox Hinduism while Khasas and Doms could not be accommodated within it. Thuljats put on *Janeo* (sacred thread) which distinguished them from Khasas. Superiority of Thuljats and the ritual practices that perpetuated it was maintained through a number of politico-legal injunctions. The Khasas and the Doms could be punished for wearing *Janeo*. Doms corresponded to unclean castes and they had no permission to enter the places where upper castes lived. In the village of Uttrakhand there were two *Babaris* (wells) one for dalits and other for upper caste. Upper castes did not use the water touched by the Doms. Only flowing water was allowed to be touched by Doms.³ Doms were not allowed to wear shoe and ornaments of Gold and Silver. They had their one *Bagad* (burial place) because they were not permitted to use the crematorium of upper castes to cremate dead bodies.⁴ Doms were not permitted to construct multi-storied pakka houses, they used to live Kachcha house (huts). They were also not allowed to wear sacred thread and celebrate wedding with Dolka Palki.⁵ Doms were mostly landless and some sub-castes among them depended on their hereditary occupations.

It was widely believed that the Doms were original inhabitants of Uttarakhand region who were conquered and enslaved by the *Khasas*.⁶ William Crooke opined that Doms in Himalayan districts were the descendants of *Dasyus* of Vedic times. The geographical isolation of the hill tracts developed an ambiguous relation within Hinduism. Therefore, caste restrictions and other rules of orthodox Hinduism were singularly lax. With regard to the Dom outcastes, ritual rules of purity and pollution were not defined as sharp as in the plains. Mostly artisan and tenants formed an integral part of the village community like Lohars and Auji.⁷ Historically, the Dom community had been a part of local village community as rest of India. Dharmadhikari (religious and social authority during medieval Uttarakhand) was an important official of the royal court who punished all violations of the caste rules. Trail, the British Official during early years of colonial rule wrote that Doms were given capital punishment for violating caste rules.⁸ Political power also supported the superiority and dominance of upper castes over the rest of the society.

The three-tiered structure / Khasa / Dom emerged out of what were originally distinctions emerged in Uttarakhand society. The structure can be conceptualized as a series of binary distinctions of which the basic oppositions were i) Bith (clean) vs. Dom (unclean) and within Bith, Thuljat (immigrant) vs. Khasa (indigenous).⁹ The word Bith means clean which was used to refer to upper castes of Uttarakhand. Before the arrival of the British, Khasa and Tuljat castes dominated economically, socially and politically because of their social status and control of land.

The Doms suffered lot of indignities and landless and poverty. But after some time when colonial rule was established in the regions, Christian missionaries became active in the conversion of lower castes to their religion, some Shilpkars started converted to Christianity. Thereafter, Arya Samaj started working among them. Ayar Samaj, which opposed conversion began to reconvert those converted to other religions through their programme known as *Suddhi* Movement. Incidentally in Uttrakhand the movement brought about a kind of social change, mobility and status to the Shilpkars as they started wearing Janeo (sacred thread) after *shuddhi* and celebrated their wedding ceremonies with Dola- Palki, which were exclusive privileges and symbols of higher echelons of the society.

Contesting caste prejudice and exclusion:

Scant resources on the social structure and relations during precolonial period make it difficult to reconstruct them for this period. Accounts of early colonial administrators, travelogues and some local histories help us to draw a picture of the society in the colonial period. The three tiered structure in Uttarakhand society got evolved through a historical process. Many believed that the Doms were the earliest settlers in the region. Khasas, a powerful tribe who established their rule gradually subdued Doms. Khasas, later in turn, were conquered by the Rajput immigrants from the plains, who established Chand dynasty in Kumaun and the Panwar dynasty in Garhwal between 10th and 14th centuries. Many Brahmin and Rajputs migrated to the region during the rule of these dynasties. Therefore, these conquests and immigration flows have a bearing on the development of the social structure of the region. The Rajput rule continued until they were defeated by the Gurkhas in 1790 A.D. Finally, the region came under the British in 1814.

But with the changes under British rule, caste and status were separated to some extent as education became the new symbol of status. English education became essential to secure government service. Initially there was little employment under the British but by the end of the 19th century with the expansion of the bureaucracy the British required large numbers of English educated natives to man the subordinate offices. For many people, these subordinate services begot prestige and social status. Hence, English education became important for securing employment under the British. Schools were opened in various parts of the hills. Almora, the centre of Kumaun elite, emerged as important centre of education (M.S. Randhawa, 1970, M.M. Dhasmana, 1987). Later schools were opened in other parts like Nainital, Pauri, Srinagar (Garhwal) etc. The *Thuljats* claimed a major share

in the government services and various professions and also dominated the political leadership. They played a crucial role in local administration and perpetuated their caste supremacy by helping their caste brethren. Thus although the pre-colonial monopoly of the *Thuljats* on politics and administration as ruling elite was broken, they still maintained the power by availing new opportunities.

Sacred Thread (*Janeo*) and *Dola - Palki* as markers of higher status:

After the establishment of the colonial rule in this region Christian missionaries also became active in the conversion of lower castes to their religion. Swami Dayananda Saraswati started visiting the hills of Kumaun and Garhwal from 1874. He started propagating Arya Samaj doctrine among the shilpakars of Uttarakhand. As some sub-castes of Shilpakars were planning to convert to Christianity, Arya Samaj started working vigorously among them. The Arya Samaj ritual of purification (*shuddhi*) to reconvert those Hindus, who converted to Christianity and Islam, was used Shilpakars to bring about social status among Shilpakars.. Arya Samaj started purifying Shilpakars and started investiture ceremony for them with sacred thread (Naval Viyogi and M.Anwar Ansari, 2010). In this connection, Lala lajpat Rai visited Sunika village of Nainital district on the Baishakhi day of 1913 to take part in the purification ceremony of Shilpakars on the invitation of Khushi Ram and gave *Janeo* and *dwija* (twice born) status to nearly 600 hundred *doms*. Doms asserted that they should be called Shilpkar (Resolution of the Garhwal Shilpkar Sabha, 6 June 1931). Traditionally, shilpakars were not allowed to wear *janeo*. When shilpakars started wearing *janeo* after *shuddhi* rite by the Arya Samaj, there was an opposition and reaction against this new move by upper castes in the society.

The movement for social mobility and upliftment were led by Kumaun Shilpkar Sudharani Sabha and the Garhwal Shilpkar Sabha.¹⁰ As expected this move created a flutter among the caste Hindus. Tamtas (copper smiths), who recently improved their economic condition as a result of road construction and other activities became rich, decided to take to priestly functions amongst Shilpkars.¹¹

Arya Samaj started working among Shilpakars under the leadership of Jayanand Bharat, Khushi Ram, Bacchi Ram and Baldev Singh Arya etc. Dogadda and Bironkhal which were urban areas were developing as cultural centres for Shilpakars. Along with sacred thread, now Shilpakars wanted to use *Dola Palki* (palanquins) in their marriage ceremonies, which were not allowed earlier due to strong opposition of the upper castes of the region.

Palki was used to carry the bridegroom and *dola* the bride during the marriage. Both *dola* and *palki* were carried by 2 to 4 persons each on their shoulders. Whenever the Doms/ Silpakars used the *dola palki*, such a move resulted in physical violence. On January 16, 1920, at Ramgarh village in Kumaon, a shilpakar marriage ceremony procession was organized with *dola palki* under the leadership of Kushi Ram Arya. There was an opposition to it from the villagers. Jayanand Bharati initiated *dola-palki* in Garhwal region. In 1923, a marriage party of shilpakars with *dola palki* from village Khandi was going to Sendhikal, they were prevented and *baratis* (people who participate in marriage procession) were beaten.¹² S.S.Negi actually talks about a number of instances where caste Hindus attacked marriage parties of shilpakars and shilpakars and were beaten and *dola palkis* were set to fire.

Officiating the Marriage and funeral Rituals:

No Brahman officiates the marriage ceremony of Silpakars as they were considered low in social status and ritually impure. The Brahmin's place was substituted by the sister's son (of Bride or Bride groom) who receives a fee for his services. The Silpakars generally burn their dead and dispose of the ashes into a neighboring water body. In such cases also the sister's son or the son-in-law of the dead man officiates and was presented with a loin cloths and some amount of money.¹³

Atkinson remarks that, Doms do not wear the sacred thread or bracelet (Rakhi) nor do they have castes makers or wear as a rule, the top-knot (Sikha) and in a rough way they intimate the custom of the better classes, especially those who have made money in their contracts with Government. Their offering to deceased ancestors (*sraddha*) when made at all are performed at the Amawas or last day of the Kanyagat of Kura. The sister's son, younger sister's husband or son-in-law act as Brahmans on the occasion and receive gifts as such.¹⁴

Emergence of Shilpakar Brahmins:

James M.Sebring during his fieldwork in 1970's remarked that the activities of a proselytizing socio-religious Hindu reform movement, the Arya Samaj, have contributed substantially, though unintentionally, to circumstances which are now giving rise to a new caste. First, Arya Samaj converted castes which are traditionally considered low. Second, religious specialists from the ranks of the converted lower castes to minister to the religious needs of the converts were created.¹⁵

Arya Samaj personnel chose some men from the Shilpakars and instructed them in the rudiments of performing rites during

life cycle which were performed for Sanskritizing castes by low status Brahmins elsewhere. The ways and means by which Shilpakar were chosen or recruited for ritual duties is not forthcoming properly. It is apparent that they were initiated by the Arya Samaj. Even after the influence of Arya Samaj declined, the system continued and in fact enlarged and improvised. Such people are styled as Shilpakar Brahmins by the patron community.

Shilpakar Brahmins are referred to as 'Brahmins' by the fellow Shilpakars whom they serve and they are frequently addressed by the term 'panditji' an honorific that is used for the original Brahmins by the higher castes as widely popular in Northern parts of India. No other Shilpakars are distinguished terminologically in this fashion or addressed by a special honorific. Shilpakar Brahmins perform religious rites for other shilpakars. These rites are the same ones as those which high caste Brahmins perform for the other high castes, namely, birth, naming, sacred thread investiture, marriage and death. The texts used by the Shilpakar Brahmins during the ceremonies differ from those used by the high caste Brahmins in their greater brevity, simplicity, and greater use of Hindustani instead of Sanskrit.¹⁶ The Shilpakar Brahmins do not pursue their traditional occupation, which they did before becoming religious specialists. They obtain most of their living now by performing ceremonies for fellow Shilpakars, for which they are paid mainly in cash.

Even now, the situation in the hills of Uttarkhand does not change much. The upper caste Brahmins reportedly do not want to perform rituals for the Shilpakars and hence they decided to have priests from their own community who is respected as Panditji. They are meeting the ritual needs of Shilpakars on occasions like birth, marriage and death. They took it as a profession (*vritte*). Much like the Brahmins, they offer *diksha* or initiation to people from their community, and ensure that their sons continue their procession after their departure from the physical world.

Recent Initiations:

Pratap Ram Arya (37) is one such priest. A native of Runibata Tok village under Kapkot Assembly constituency of Bageshwar district, Arya had just completed high school in 1991, and a Sanskrit Diksha course from Haridwar in 2000. He informs that "My thread ceremony (upanayana) was performed by Pandit Joga Ramji of Sani Ujar village, he was the first Shilpakar priest from this area". He started his priesthood with the marriage of his sister-in-law. Today, he gets around Rs 3,000 for performing marriage rituals (for a marriage or for a day?). His way of dress appears like a Brahmin priest. Arya visits the neighbouring villages like Jhakra, Jakhni, Malsona, Sehri and Jarti. "The demand for

Shilpakar priests is growing high; I have also started sending my son Shankar to perform religious rituals", he added. Shankar had done intermediate at a Sanskrit school.

Joga Ram's sons, Bhopal Ram and Mohan Ram, are also priests like their father from Kumaon. 'Our father was a carpenter, He became a priest in 1960 after being trained by his friend Bhola Dutt Pant', said Bhopal. Joga Ram died in 1986. 'We offer diksha to those interested to become priest in our caste,' said Bhopal Ram. Bhagat Prasad Arya's career as a Dalit priest began in the 1980s and now his son Harish has also been introduced to priesthood. A native of Bamrari village, Bhagat became a priest at the age of 18. "My father desired that I should become a priest. We had no agricultural land. Brahmins did not show interest to perform rituals for us. So, I thought, I should become a priest", he said. Usually, the castes other than Shilpakars do not approach these priests. "Only people of Shilpakars and other lower castes call me to perform rituals", he said. Prominent Dalit priests of the kumaon region include Kishan Ram of Maudiyar, Ram Prasad of Bajura Nakuri and Keshar Ram of Kulgara.¹⁷

It is significant to note that in similar way, under different historical contexts such priests came into being from Non Brahmin Communities in Andhra. During the intense Non Brahmin Movement also known as Justice Movement (after 1916) in Madras presidency as a protest against the ritual exclusiveness of the Brahmins, the Kammas, a caste of agriculturists began to meet their ritual necessities by a group of their own caste known as *Kamma Brahmins*.¹⁸ Other Non Brahmin communities followed their model. The artisanal communities like Black smith, gold smith, carpenter and stone cutter came under one umbrella and styled themselves as Viswa Brahmins in 19th Century (they were collectively known as panchananas even from the late medieval period) and began to wear sacred thread and some members of the group officiated as priests of their own group of people.¹⁹ However, in case of Shilpakars, we do not see the traits of non Brahmin movement which emerged in south India. Thus caste discrimination, prejudice by the so called upper castes towards the lower castes in general and Shilpakars in particular gave rise to the emergence of a priestly class among the Shilpakars apart from forming into a collective group with a sanskritised name during the colonial period. Even after Independence and introduction of affirmative action by Government of India, situation at ground level did not change much. But this is not to say that Shilpakars did not achieve social mobility in terms of education, employment, business and other spheres. Caste prejudice still prevails in spite of change in the socio-economic status of Shilpakars and other lower castes in India in general and Uttrakhand in particular.

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Endnotes:

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⁴E. Sherman Oakley, Holy Himalaya: The Religion, Traditions, and Scenery of a Himalayan Province (Kumaon and Garhwal), London, 1905, p. 42.

⁵Dola means percussion instrument and Plaki means palanquin. Upper castes and converted Christians and Muslims were using these during marriage processions.

⁶W. Crooke, The Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. 1, (Reprint, 2005), p.331.

⁷Lohars were iron smiths and Aujs were tailors and drummers.

⁸R. D. Sanwal, Op. Cit., p. 21.

⁹Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 11-12.

¹⁰Shilpakar Sudharini Sabha was established in 1920 under the leadership of Kushi Ram and Hari Prasad Tamta.

¹¹R.D.Sanwal, Op. Cit., p. 74.

¹²James Kennedy, Life and Work in Benares and Kumaon, 1839-1877, New York, 1885, p. 72.

¹³W. Crooke, Op. Cit., p.331;

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¹⁵James, M. Sebring, The Formation of new castes: A probable case from north India, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 74, No. 3 (Jun., 1972), p..588.

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Dr. Ambedkar and Right of Coparcenary Succession to Women in India¹

Sangita Yadav

Law and society have a close relationship. Society formulates unwritten rules from time to time to secure the interests of the people. As society progresses, the rules reforms. Before the laws were made by the British government, the laws mentioned in the scriptures of India were reigning in Indian society. Shrutis have been observed to be the basis of Hindu religion and Smritis like Manu Smriti, Naradasmruti, and Parashara Smriti contributed to broaden Hindu religion but are considered less authoritative than Shrutis. Thus, the basic texts of ancient Hindu law are dharma-sutras which express that Shruti, Smriti, and Ethics are the sources of law and jurisprudence.² Later, in all these religious texts, Manu Smriti made a special impact on Indian society and controlled the lives of people through its laws and jurisprudence and sowed the seeds of inequality. Manu, a staunch supporter of the varna system, divided the Indian society into the four Varnas (literally colours) or hierarchical social groups namely Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. Manu bestowed a higher position to the Brahmins among the four Varnas and placed the other three classes below them. Although all humans are equal, Manu through his treatise inseminated the seeds of inequality in society based on caste, class, and gender. Manu divided humans into groups and created a sense of superior and inferior.³ He was a pioneer of the philosophy of inequality, who provided a lot of facilities to the Brahmins, and placed them on top of the remaining three classes. According to Manu, "The creation of a Brahmin is the best thing on earth because he is able to protect the treasure of religion of all living beings. Everything in the world belongs to the Brahmins. Being born from a Brahmin mouth, the Brahmin is able to accept everything."⁴ As a result, strict rules were imposed on the Shudras and women by keeping them in perpetual bondage from birth to death. For Manu, the names of the Brahmins should be auspicious and holy, mighty for the Kshatriyas, wealth indicative for the Vaishyas, and slanderers for the Shudras.⁵ The names of women should be pronounceable from the mouth, it should not be cruel, should have clear, beautiful, holy, long-letter, and blessing words like Sarala, Vimala, etc.⁶ The Upanayana⁷ rites were accorded only to the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas, and the ceremony was denied to the Shudras and the untouchables. For women, the marriage ceremony is the Upanayana Sanskara, taking care of the husband is seminary abode and housework is the only holy ritual for them. There were several restrictions imposed on women. It is only in the medieval period that changes in society begin with religious reforms.

An important milestone in the cultural history of medieval India was the silent revolution in society, brought about by a galaxy of socio-religious reformers coming from all strata and regions of India, known as the Bhakti movement.⁸ Bhakti movement was an important stage in Indian society when the demand for social and religious change began to arise. The Bhakti movement started in south India with Alvares and Nayanars which spread throughout South Asia including north India over a period of time and between the fifteenth and seventeenth century the movement was reached on its zenith.⁹ It was developed around local gods and goddesses and some sub-sects which were primarily associated with the Bhakti movement- Vaishnavism (Vishnu), Shaivism (Shiva), Shaktism (Shakti goddesses), and Smartism.¹⁰ The Bhakti movement used vernacular languages so that the message could reach the masses.¹¹ This movement has conventionally been regarded as an influential social reform in Hinduism and provided a person-centred alternative way to spirituality regardless of one's gender and birth.¹² The leader of this Hindu revolutionary campaign was Shankaracharya, who was a great thinker and a well-known philosopher.¹³ The saints who contributed to this movement were- Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Namdev, Tukaram, Jayadeva, Guru Nanak, etc. who gave more vigour to this campaign against various conservatives of Hindu society.¹⁴ The great aim of their campaign was freedom from slavery to external authority. In the medieval period, social reform was mainly limited to religious reforms with some other aspects in a limited sense. But by the 19th century, the forms of reform movements started changing and came out in a wide format. There can be many reasons behind this, but the main reason is believed to be the British arrival¹⁵ and Western education.¹⁶

The 19th century is celebrated as the century of the social and religious renaissance in India. At this time, the western education of the East India Company made the Indian young and aged mind think about the evils prevailing in the society. However, the East India Company did not think it appropriate to interfere in India's religious affairs and did so keeping in mind their political interests.¹⁷ People affected by Western education began to question the Hindu social system, religion, customs, and traditions. Due to which social and religious movement emerged. Western education was marked as a significant change in the religious and social sphere of India. Western education and culture first impacted the Indian middle class and contributed significantly in eliminating the evil practices and vandalism prevailing in the then Indian society. Initially, till 1813, the company administration followed the policy of non-interference in social, religious, and cultural matters of India, as they were always aware that, by interfering in these matters, orthodox Indian people can pose a threat to the

company's authority, but after 1813, British rule started limited intervention for its industrial interests and commercial gains, resulting in social and religious reform movements later.¹⁸ Under this, many movements were launched for improving Hindu and Muslim religion and society such as Brahma Samaj, Adi-Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Theosophical Society, Wahabi Movement, Ahmadiyya Movement, Deoband School, etc. These movements targeted the evil practices prevalent in the then society, such as the Sati system, child marriage, women education, widow remarriage, caste discrimination, etc. It was not easy to eliminate the evils of the centuries prevailing in the society by these movements and these movements were not even inclusive in nature. These movements were mainly confined to the middle class of society. The problems of women were not given priority in these movements because their purpose was limited.

Looking at the old and traditional system of law which was very strict towards women and untouchables, a change was again felt by British rule. This was the time (during the 18th-19th century) when all aspects of society were in turmoil and the demand for social and political change was in full swing. India was adopting a variety of tactics to achieve independence. In such a situation, the need for change was also felt in old traditions and laws, which were based on religious scriptures, especially in women's cases.

British India and Reform in Hindu Code:

Focusing on that, an attempt for the codification of Hindu law was started in the late 18th century as the Colonial Government intending to bring aspects of their legal system to the socio-political life of various social groups in India that all past rulers had never infringed upon.¹⁹ The establishment of colonial rule was pronounced as an unprecedented break from the past. Earlier, no ruler had sought to interfere in matters considered internal affairs of 'Jat' or 'Biradari' system of different social groups, regardless of how far-reaching the changes were initiated at the top. For example, during the Mughal rule, Muslim law was particularly acknowledged as a traditional community-based organization for resolving disputes.²⁰ The British, who came as traders in the 17th century in India, were perplexed by the huge complexity and diversity of Indian society.²¹ They came from a culture where some perspectives of community and family matters came beneath of the authority of Canon Law,²² they looked for similar sources of authority in India after they took over the reign of administration.²³ Therefore, they started a new kind of study of Ancient Indian Shastras in making new rules to govern India. For that purpose, the British government prepared a report by stressing

the need for the codification of Indian laws for uniformity related to crimes.²⁴ John A. Banningan writes, "The desirability of codifying Hindu laws was recognized as early as 1832, and a Royal Commission was subsequently appointed to codify both Hindu and Muslim law. Lord Macaulay was entrusted with this work, and after twenty-two years a new penal code became law. The civil law was left as it was."²⁵

During Colonial rule, Manu's discriminatory law was abandoned due to the law made by the British by which people of all castes, religions, and communities were given equal rights before the law or rule of law. The policy of the British rulers was to abolish the discrimination became a very revolutionary principle. Common law and Uniform Penal System were British tributes to the enslaved Indians. In support of this change, the English writer Donald Smith writes in his book 'India as a secular state' that "all are equal before the law".²⁶ This British policy served to create a social and political revolution. Hindu and Muslim laws were against the concept of Western countries. The ancient Hindu law recognized the traditional caste system, so provisions for punishment were made based on caste. British made everyone equal before the law.²⁷ A. S. Altekar, writes in his book *State and Government in Ancient India* that, "Equality of all citizens before the law is one of the fundamental features of a good state according to the modern notions. It has to be admitted that it did not exist in ancient India. Lighter punishment was recommended to the Brahmins in comparison to the other castes for the same offence."²⁸ Apart from the laws made in the British period, Hindu and Muslim laws were important as well. The British officers had a language problem, so they used the help of Hindu Pandits and Muslim Kazis to understand the laws written in Hindi, Sanskrit, and Persian languages, which later did not suit the British and they made it translated into the English language.²⁹ This translation work was continued until 1864. The laws made up till 1856 were the same for all, but later, different personal laws were made for all religions.³⁰ The British later looked at personal laws. They wanted to reform personal laws, thus, they passed the Religious Freedom Law 1850, Widow Marriage Law 1856, Marriage Dissolutionlaw 1866 for religiously converted people, Special Marriage Law 1872, Consent Marriage Law 1891, Laws of Heir rights 1928, Sharda Marriage Restraint Act,1829,³¹ Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 1937, such laws focusing on social reform, forced India's social reformers to think. The British government made changes in the old laws as much as possible.³²

To provide equal rights to women, Dr. Gopalrao Deshmukh presented a bill in the Central Legislature in 1937. The bill was related to the right to property of a Hindu woman, which was

passed on 14 April 1937.³³ This law was also known as Deshmukh law. This was a very small statute that included 5 sections, which provided that after the death of the father, his property should be given to the son as well as the widowed wife. As per the Hindu canon, only men had the right to the property till then and the widow was not entitled to any share in the husband's property.³⁴ Altekar states that "in early days widows had no right of inheritance; the property of a person having no heir other than a widow escheated to the state. Later on, society decided to recognise widow as an heir of her deceased husband, and through this change adversely affected the interest of the exchequer, the state cheerfully sanctioned it."³⁵ Law experts criticized Deshmukh law saying that it is like a sick child. It is not the language of the law, but the language of the story.³⁶

The 1937 Act, despite having inherent defects, was inspired by high objectives and earmarked an important phase in the development of women's rights. The Hindu Law Committee with chairmanship of B. N. Rau had to undergo an unpleasing analysis of the defects of the Act (Deshmukh Law) and favoured the graduation modification of the complete Hindu law in its report dated 8 June 1941- starting with succession, followed by marriage law and in due course the other aspects of Hindu law.³⁷

The Bills prepared by the Hindu Law Committee were published in the Gazette of India on 30th May, 1942.³⁸ The Succession Bill was in due course brought to the Joint Select Committee and motion for circulation of the bill, as reported by the Joint Select Committee, for the objective of extracting opinion, thereon, was accepted by the Central Legislative Assembly on 17th November, 1943.³⁹ The Bill was about to come in force by January 1, 1946, after the codification in some other branches.⁴⁰ Alluding to the charge, the Joint Select Committee in its report on the succession bill realized that steps ought to be taken to revitalize the Hindu Law Committee and to embolden the conceptualization and enforcement of remaining branches of the present Bill within the interim before the Act would come into force.⁴¹ The Joint Select Committee reinforced its scrutiny with the following comment:⁴²

It has been found that before allowing the present Bill to be enacted, it requires some rearrangement and modification in the light of decisions taken in association with other parts of Hindu Act.

Following the recommendation, the Colonial Government revived the Hindu Law Committee which then comprised of Justice B. N. Rau,⁴³ Dwarka Nath Mitter,⁴⁴ J. R. Gharpure,⁴⁵ and T. R. Venkatarama Shastri.⁴⁶ The committee again prepared a rough draft of Hindu law during May 1945 and distributed it among

some renowned lawyers to receive worth-full comments.⁴⁷ The draft has again been largely revised with required changes in the light of comments received from lawyers. The new draft code dealt with subjects such as Intestate and Testamentary Succession, Marriage and Divorce, Guardianship, Adoption, and Maintenance. But, agricultural land was not kept under the proposed intestate succession law.⁴⁸

The Select Committee worked very hard, travelled all over the country to receive public opinions for Hindu Code. After receiving testimonies, the final draft of the Hindu Code was prepared on 21st February, 1947 and introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly in the same year, in the name of the Hindu Code Bill.⁴⁹ But, this bill faced tremendous opposition from Hindu Sanatanis and others too. They did not accept this bill because they did not want anyone who would interfere in their theology. An English writer John D. Mayne wrote in his book named 'Treaties on Hindu Law and Usage', "the age of miracles has passed, and I hardly expect to see a code of Hindu Law which shall satisfy the trader and the agriculturist, the Punjabi and the Bengali, the Pundits of Benaras and Ramaiswaram, of Amritsar and Poona. But, I can imagine a very beautiful and specious code, which should produce much more dissatisfaction and expense than the law as at present administered."⁵⁰

Dr. Ambedkar is an exceptional example of what Antonio Gramsci called an 'organic intellectual' which means the one who articulates and represents the interests of the whole social classes. Baba Saheb Ambedkar was not only the hero of the untouchables but also a hero of the whole society includes women. Most of the upper castes Hindu women and women from other religions are unaware that when the men of their castes and communities were raising a huge mountain of religion for them and their rights, Baba Saheb Ambedkar was breaking that mountain alone and justice and equality were his chisels and hammers.

Ambedkar's Idea on Hindu Code Bill:

The Hindu Code Bill (HCB) was introduced on 11th April 1947 before the Constituent Assembly of India after rectified by the Hindu Law Committee⁵¹ even before the independence of India. The Hindu Code Bill proposed to codify laws regards to sharing of property to women. It aimed to provide women equal status of a citizen and women's integration. At the same time, it focuses on giving rights to women which they have not availed before. Thus, the Hindu Code Bill was originally aimed at achieving social, economic, and religious rights to women.

The HCB, precisely, the draft of the Rau Committee (Hindu Law Committee), was presented before the Central Legislative

Assembly. It targeted to remove the "inequality between class and class, between sex and sex which is the soul of the Hindu society."⁵² Through this Bill, Ambedkar insisted on some fundamental principles like the right to divorce, renouncing polygamy, and inheritance rights for daughters and widows. He also demanded the recognition of inter-caste marriage as a legal marriage under the Hindu Act.⁵³

According to Ambedkar, "...some community needed the reform badly- it was the slum clearance"⁵⁴ and he further adds a self-contradictory argument which he picked up from the orientalist that "the society is an inert society. The Hindu society has always believed that law-making is the function either of god or the Smriti and the Hindu society has no right to change the law. That being so, the law in Hindu society has remained what it was for generations... Society has never accepted its power and its responsibility in moulding its social, economic, and legal life. It is for the first time that we are persuading Hindu society to take this step."⁵⁵ Ambedkar was trying to depersonalise and desacralise the law system of India through the Hindu Code Bill.

The government again constituted a select committee under the chairmanship of Babasaheb Ambedkar. The committee was announced on 9th April 1948, with 20 members including women and men⁵⁶ that comprised of Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir,⁵⁷ Sardar Hukam Singh,⁵⁸ Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar,⁵⁹ Shri Deshbandhu Gupta,⁶⁰ Shrimati G. Durgabai,⁶¹ Shrimati Renuka Ray,⁶² Shri Ramnath Goenka,⁶³ Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand,⁶⁴ Lala Achint Ram,⁶⁵ Ch. Ranbir Singh,⁶⁶ Shri Mahabir Tyagi,⁶⁷ etc as its members.⁶⁸ This committee reviewed the Bill again and the committee also studied various court decisions, the results of the Privy Council,⁶⁹ conservatism, tradition, theology, and then made a report.⁷⁰

While introducing the Bill, Ambedkar highlighted its objectives and said, "Sir, this Bill, the aim of which is to codify the rules of Hindu Law which are scattered in innumerable decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council, which form a bewildering motley to the common man and give rise to constant litigation, seeks to codify the law relating to seven different matters. Firstly, it seeks to codify the law relating to the rights of property of a deceased Hindu who has died intestate without making a will, both female and male. Secondly, it prescribes a somewhat altered form of the order of succession among the different heirs to the property of a deceased dying intestate. The next topic it deals with is the law of maintenance, marriage, divorce, adoption, minority, and guardianship."⁷¹ Thus, though touching the different fields that affect various aspects of women's lives, the Hindu code was opened for debate.

The Hindu Code Bill was opposed because Hindus were treating it as a personal change in their lives. They believed that Hindu families would break up with the right to property and divorce.⁷² Other members of the Assembly said that the people are not elected, so they do not have the right to make major changes in society. The most disputed issue was why the law is being brought only for Hindus? Why not a Uniform Civil Code for everyone? Shyama Prasad Mukherjee,⁷³ the founder of Jana Sangh, who resigned from Nehru's cabinet, raised the question in Parliament that how appropriate was it to enact a law for only one religion?⁷⁴ Although the Sangh was agreed on the Bill but objected to two things that it should not be hurried, there should be a wide debate, secondly, a Uniform Civil Code Bill should be brought for all religions.⁷⁵ In September 1951, the debate on the bill was resumed, and protest against the Bill increased. Ambedkar was called the antithesis of Hinduism.⁷⁶

Ambedkar did significant compromises to pass the HCB, as Nehru advised that the suggested code would be divided into various parts. Nehru told the Assembly that he would start with only the initial 55 clauses regarding marriage and divorce, while the rest would be discussed after the first general election.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the agreement was broadly recessive in convincing traditionalists to backing the Code. Only three out of 55 clauses got passed subsequently adding one more week for debate, Nehru distributed a new draft to Ambedkar's committee, complying with several demands of critics, containing the restoration of the Mitakshara joint family system, with an amendment to allow brothers to purchase sister's share of the inheritance, and a precondition was allowed to divorce only after three years of marriage.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, after the Bill was again suppressed in the house, Ambedkar resigned from his post as the first Law Minister of independent India. In a letter issued to the press, Ambedkar said that his decision was depending on the conclusion that had been concord to the HCB as well as the inefficiency of the authority to get it passed.⁷⁹

Developments in the Hindu Code Bill from 1951 to 1956:

After the first general election of India, the Hindu Marriage Act was passed in 1955 along with giving legal recognition to the divorce, more than one marriage at a time was declared illegal. Also, women and men of different castes were given the right to marry each other. The Hindu Succession Act 1956, the Hindu Adoption Act 1956, and the Hindu Minorities and Guardianship Act 1956 were made laws. By implementing all these laws, women were given equal rights to some extent which was not given earlier. For the first time, women were given the right to adopt children and rights in the property.

It is noticeable that when Dr. Ambedkar was not in the cabinet during 1955-56, the Bills were got passed smoothly. After the resignation of Dr. Ambedkar in 1951, four laws were enacted, they were not only very different from the original draft of the HCB but also the draft Bill came out from the Select Committee headed by Dr. Ambedkar.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, these excessive turning points of legislation was acclaimed by Nehru's supporters in Parliament as nothing short of revolutionary.

This rhetoric remained the same for years that the Hindu Code Bill was debated in Parliament, and it seems that the actual law that was debated in Parliament has little connection with these new laws of the Hindu Code Bill. It shows that the rhetoric had more to do with the rhetoricians' sight- An unreal mixture of pretense and self-contempt- whole society includes came from the adoption of Britisher's perception of Indian society. Thus, the constituent assembly member from U. P., B.V. Keskar⁸¹ pointed out on Ambedkar's Bill "...I do not think there has been any bill so radical and so revolutionary which is trying to change the very foundations of Hindu society, a society which has remained fossilized for the last thousand years".⁸² And when the Hindu Succession Act was passed in 1956, it was an alteration from the original bill, even forcing its most ardent supporters to view it as fraud against women, Nevertheless, the exaggerated rhetoric continued. To quote S. S. More:⁸³ "...our past which created and perpetuated the caste system... which allowed the Shudras to remain in abject slavery, is still hanging over us; but we are striving to snap the bonds of the past and march as steadily and firmly as possible towards a new horizon, towards a new heaven, where the socialistic order shall prevail.

This rhetoric played a role in two ways. Firstly, it projected a myth that Indian women were equal to men under the new laws. By a double vision, it was simultaneously possible to give women less than equal rights, even in newly enacted laws, and yet to claim that equal rights were granted. Hence, Mulla's *Principles of Hindu Law* on the subject stated that "the outstanding feature of the changes made in the law is that all disparity in the rights of men and women and disabilities based on...sex are eliminated in matters of marriage, succession, and adoption."⁸⁴ And then later, "male and female heirs are now treated as equal without any distinction."⁸⁵ As mentioned by Madhu Kishwar in her work that this is long-standing inequality, especially in matters of succession and adoption. At the popular level, the notion also prevailed that the reformed Law was not only a perfect piece of law but, like a magic wand, had removed all disparities and injustice of society based on gender.⁸⁶ Thus, the *Hindustan Times* publishes an advertisement for G. P. Sippy's film *Shrimati 420* on 10th May 1956, which proclaims that:⁸⁷

Red Letter Day in the History of Social Reform! Parliament Passes Hindu Succession Bill and Removes Age-Old injustice to Women! Here is a picture to uphold these ideas which blaze a new trail in revolutionary social dramas!

This does not mean that this enthusiasm does not fulfil any goal. This provision helped to establish equality in society to which the Indian state was to be dedicated at least to some extent. It is worth noting that all the representatives of Parliament whether they are from Congress or any other party, never failed to present and last their voices with vigorous disclaimer of any purpose to oppose emancipation for women. This establishment of some minimal consensus to protect the interest of women was a meaningful achievement in itself, to which H. V. Pataskar⁸⁸ remarked when the most contentious Act, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, was being debated, "I am happy that in spite of some very passionate speeches...the majority of the members of this house...are in favour of doing justice to women...whatever the other differences."⁸⁹

Nevertheless, the difference between rhetoric and reality was not much. Not only the opponents but some supporters of the Acts also repeatedly noted that they have fallen far short of equality. The Law Minister Charu Chandra Biswas⁹⁰ claimed that 'the delay' was 'entirely justified' as over time the 'bitter opposition' to the Bill has been reduced. Replying to this, Sardar Hukum Singh argued that "if there was big support to new Bills...It is not the public opinion the has changed but...the government that has changed its attitude...this is not the original bill...the Hindu Code has practically been given up by this government."⁹¹

It means the bill presented by Ambedkar in 1951 for the consideration has been massively modified so that it would receive considerably less opposition in getting passed as it seems from the words of Sardar Hukum Singh.⁹² The most notable difference between the earlier and later bills was to protect the Mitakshara coparcenary system under the revised Hindu Succession Act which was tried to modify through Ambedkar's Hindu Code Bill.

The Hindu Succession Act, 1956, dealing with succession rights among Hindus came into force on June 17, 1956.⁹³ The Act was the abrogation of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937.⁹⁴ The Act applies to all Hindus containing followers of Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism. Through the Act, Hindu widow provided rights to the property of her deceased husband which has been limited under the 1937 Act and extremely restricted before British Colonial rule. Under section 14 of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, she becomes the full owner of the property possessed by her which was a very limited right.⁹⁵ The

Hindu Succession Act, 1956, under the guise of a joint family system, retained the gender discriminatory scheme of Mitakshara coparcenary which retained only men as coparceners. This Act was criticised by the supporters of gender equality. Section 6 of the Act administered, at any time, a Hindu male, bearing interest in the Mitakshara Coparcenary estate, dies after the commencement of the Law, then his interest in the estate will devolve through the rule of survivorship, not according to the Act. Nonetheless, if a Mitakshara Coparcener passed away leaving behind a female successor or male successor claiming through her then the interest will devolve through the Act, and the rule of survivorship would not be applicable.⁹⁶ Thus, there was no right from birth in the ancestral property to women. They were expelled by the Mitakshara system from the Joint Family Coparcenary provision. For example, if there was a division of property in a joint Hindu family, then only men were entitled to it, women did not get anything in the property. Thus, the law was discriminatory against women. In this way, this law was like a mockery of fundamental rights given by the Indian Constitution. The rights given to women by this law were nothing, where, Ambedkar tried to give full rights to women through the Hindu Code Bill. But after 70 years, the dream of Ambedkar got the right direction in August 2020, when the Supreme Court of India given the verdict of women's rights related to succession.⁹⁷

The Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005:

Significantly, the Hindu Succession Act 1956 did not talk about any legal rights for the daughter in the father's property. Whereas, in the case of being a joint Hindu family, the daughter was given the right to demand livelihood. Later on 9th September 2005, the Hindu Succession Act was amended to give the daughter equal rights as a son in the ancestral property.⁹⁸ Now, a daughter becomes the owner of the coparcenary property by birth in the same way as a son does. Widows are also entitled to claim equal share as their children. The law applies to inheritance over the paternal property and to intestate succession in personal property - where succession is by the law and not through a will.

The coparcenary status has already been given to daughters long ago particularly in South India. Kerala has implemented the change in 1975, Andhra Pradesh (1986), Tamil Nadu (1989) Maharashtra, and Karnataka (1994).⁹⁹ The objective of this law was that egregious discrimination between daughters and sons for an equal share in the coparcenary property, which is property inherited from one's father, grandfather, or great-grandfather, should be removed. It is indeed a welcome effort that the apex court has tried to give full effect to this intent. Justice Arun Kumar Mishra,¹⁰⁰ while reading the verdict, stated "The daughter shall

remain a coparcener [one who shares equally with others in inheritance of an undivided joint family property] throughout life, irrespective of whether her father is alive or not. Daughters must be given equal rights as sons, daughter remains a loving daughter throughout life."¹⁰¹ Observing the necessity of the 2005 amendment, Solicitor General Tushar Mehta argued in favour of the law to grant equal rights to women, "The Mitakshara coparcenary law not only contributed to discrimination on the ground of gender but was oppressive and negated the fundamental right of equality guaranteed by the Constitution of India."¹⁰²

The Mitakshara school of Hindu law with some changes ruled inheritance and succession property, but only men are considered legitimate heirs in the property. In the Hindu joint family system, there are several generations live together. Conventionally, it was males of common ancestor including their mothers, wives, and unmarried daughters are defined as a joint family system. They hold the family property jointly. After marriage, the daughters of the Hindu Joint Family are not considered the part of this family and according to this, they were no longer the legitimate heirs of the same property. But through the 2005 amendment, daughters were also entitled to equal rights as sons in father's property from birth.

Conclusion:

'Once a daughter, always a daughter' was said by justice Arun Mishra while giving the verdict on equal right to daughters of India for which Dr. Ambedkar tirelessly fought for and due to failing in his intention, he also resigned from his post as Law Minister. Ambedkar also tried to spread the message 'once a daughter, always a daughter' but the patriarchal setup of Indian society was not ready to accept this progressive thought before 70 years. It took several years to bring justice at least on paper. The law which was enacted in 1956 restricting the rights of the daughters, has been amended, removing its shortcomings and making it an inclusive law. The 2005 Act, which has truly given equal rights to daughters through its provisions, is yet easy for daughters to avail of this right. Maybe not. Because India is still predominantly rural with 30 percent of the urban population. Where most of the population of rural India is still facing the problem of illiteracy. They will not be able to understand the progressive movement through the Act. The female literacy rate is still very low and they are very much tied with the conservatism of society where they cannot even think on this subject. And through this law, the arrangement made in favour of women, will not be easy to avail for most of the illiterate women living in rural India.

Endnotes:

¹Some of these aspects are discussed at length and in detail in my doctoral dissertation, which I shall be submitting in Jawaharlal Nehru University in a couple of months. I thank Dr. B. Ramachandra Reddy for the comments and suggestions.

²Donald R. Davis, Jr, *The Spirit of Hindu Law*, Cambridge University Press, New York: 2010, p. 27.

³Arthur Llewellyn Basham, *The Wonder that was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent Before the Coming of the Muslims*, Vol. 1, Grove Press: 1959, p. 147.

⁴Pandit Girija Prasad Dvivedi, *Manusmriti, or Manava dharmashastra*(Hindi), NawalKishorVidyalaya, Lucknow, 2017, p. 19.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷Upnayana is one of the Sanskara (Rites of Passage) that marked the acknowledgement of a student by a Guru (Teacher) and the entrance of a person into a school Hinduism. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941, Volume II, Part 1, pp. 268-287.

⁸J.V. Naik, General President's Address: "The Reformer and the Quest for Social Justice in Indian History", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 2006-2007*, Vol. 67, pp. 1-48.

⁹Karine Schomer, W. H. McLeod (eds.), *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1987, p. 1.

¹⁰Orlando O. Espín, James B. Nickoloff (eds.), *An Introductory Dictionary of Theology and Religious Studies*, Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota, 2007, pp. 562-563.

¹¹Karine Schomer, W. H. McLeod (eds.), *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Op. Cit., p. 1.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

¹³Shashi Tharoor, "Adi Shankaracharya: Hinduism's Greatest Thinker review: A lesson from the past", *The Hindu*, 3 June 2018.

¹⁴J.V. Naik, General President's Address: "The Reformer and the Quest for Social Justice in Indian History", Op. Cit.

¹⁵The arrival of the British in India can be considered as the beginning of a new era. In 1600 CE, some British merchants obtained permission from Queen Elizabeth of England to trade with India. For this, he formed a company called East India Company.

¹⁶J.V. Naik, General President's Address: "The Reformer and the Quest for Social Justice in Indian History", Op. Cit.

¹⁷Kauleshwar Rai, "British Attitude Towards Social Reforms in Modern India", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1979, Vol. 40, pp. 904-907.

¹⁸Belmekki Belkacem, "The Impact of British Rule on the Indian Muslim Community in the Nineteenth Century", *ES* 28 (2007-8): 27-46.

¹⁹Madhu Kishwar, "Codified Hindu Law: Myth and Reality", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 29, No. 33, Aug 13, 1994, pp. 2145-2161.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid*

²²Canon law is a set of rules adopted by Church Authority for the Church and its members. It is an internal ecclesiastical law or policy for governing its external government, organisations and to regulate the activities of Catholics toward the mission of the Church. It was a fully furnished law with necessary elements such as the court, lawyers, judges, a complete articulated legal code with principles of legal interpretations, coercive punishment systems though it lacks civilly-binding force in most secular jurisdictions. See. *The Principles of Canon Law Common to the Churches of the Anglican Communion*, The Anglican Communion Office, London, 2008, p. 97.

²³MadhuKishwar, "Codified Hindu Law: Myth and Reality", *Op. Cit.*

²⁴<https://www.business-standard.com/about/what-is-uniform-civil-code>.

²⁵John A. Banningan, "The Hindu Code Bill", *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 17, December 3, 1952, (Dec. 3, 1952), pp. 173-176.

²⁶Donald Eugene Smith, *India as a Secular State*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2016, p. 305.

²⁷John A. Banningan, (Dec. 3, 1952), "The Hindu Code Bill", *Op. Cit.*

²⁸Anant Sadashiv Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1949, p. 69.

²⁹In the second half of the eighteenth century, the English philologist Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (1751-1830) was employed in India by the East India Company. There he was asked to translate the Hindu Legal Code into English so that the British authorities could better understand native laws. The result was this accomplished works, first published in 1776, which served to correct Western misinterpretations of Hindu law, and to show that it was fully adequate for application in Bengal, and also the most appropriate system, as opposed to Western-style laws, in the region's cultural and religious milieu. In preparing it, Halhed sought advice from experienced native lawyers, who provided verifications of both the Persian version and its Sanskrit original. Accompanied by the translator's preface and a glossary, this extensive code remains of relevance to scholars of Indian law and history. Also see Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, *A Code of Gentoo Laws; or, Ordinances of the Pundits: From a Persian Translation, made from the Original, written in the Shanscrit Language ...*

Perspectives from the Royal Asiatic Society), Cambridge University Press, 2013, [Originally published in 1776].

³⁰Anil Gajabhiye, *Hindu Code Bill: Itihasaur Sangharsh* (Hindi), Samyak Prakashan New Delhi, 2019, p. 39. [First published in 2015].

³¹The Child Marriage Restraint Act was the first social reform issue that was raised by organized women in India. It was played a major role in the development of logic and actively used the tools of political litigation and the process contributed to the field of politics. This Act was passed on 28 September 1929 in the Imperial Legislative Council of India. Through this Act, the marriage age of girls and boys was fixed at 14 and 18 years respectively, which was later increased to 18 and 21 for girls and boys respectively. Its supporter was Har Bilas Sharda, after whom it is known as the 'Sharda Act'. It came into force on 1 April 1930 and applies not only to Hindus but to all people of British India. This was the result of the social reform movement in India. See Leela Gulati, "Age of Marriage of Women and Population Growth: The Kerala Experience", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug., 1976, Vol. 11, No. 31/33, Special Number: Population and Poverty, pp. 1225-1234.

³²*Ibid.*, p.41.

³³R. Sathiyama and N. Neela, "Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937: A Study", *Shanlax International Journal of Arts, Science & Humanities*, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 2014, pp. 1-6.

³⁴Eleanor Newbiggin, "Personal Law and Citizenship in India's Transition to Independence", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 1, January 2011, pp. 7-32.

³⁵Anant Sadashiv Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Op. Cit., p. 50.

³⁶S. N. Salawade, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Emancipation of Women, Oxford Book Company, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2011, p. 149.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 541.

³⁸G. R. Rajagopal, "The Story of the Hindu Code", *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, October-December 1975, Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 537-558.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 540.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 541.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³Sir Benegal Narsing Rau (26 February 1887 – 30 November 1953) was a diplomat, jurist, Indian Civil Servant and statesman famously known for his key role in making Constitution of India. He was also appointed as the representative of India to the United Nations Security Council. He was also elected as the judge of the International Court of Justice at the Hague from February 1952 until his death.

⁴⁴Dwarka Nath Mitter (1833 - 25 February 1874) was a renowned lawyer and judge of Calcutta High Court.

⁴⁵Jagannath Raghunath Gharpure (24 June 1872 - 18 June 1963) was a legal expert and educationist. Along with his legal expertise and being educationist he was a scholar of Sanskrit literature and has written several books on roman law and Hindu law in Sanskrit and English and also translated several Sanskrit books.

⁴⁶Thiruvalangadu Raju Venkatarama Sastri (6 February 1874 - 2 July 1953) was an Indian politician and lawyer who served for Madras Presidency as Advocate General and law member. Additionally, He also has given her services as a member of the Hindu Law Committee of Government of India.

⁴⁷G. R. Rajagopaul, "The Story of the Hindu Code", Journal of the Indian Law Institute, Vol. 17, No. 4, October-December 1975, pp. 537-558

⁴⁸Ibid,

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰John D. Mayne, A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage, Higginbotham & Co., Madras, 1878, p. ix.

⁵¹Reba Som, "Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hindu Code: A Victory of Symbol over Substance?", Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 28, No. 1, Feb. 1994, pp. 165-194.

⁵²Keya Maitra, "Ambedkar and the Constitution of India: A Deweyan Experiment," Contemporary Pragmatism, 9(2), (April 2012), 301-20.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XV, Part-II, 1951, p. 2951.

⁵⁵Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Vol. V, No. 4, 1948, pp. 3652-3653.

⁵⁶Anil Gajabhiye, Hindu Code Bill: Itihasaur Sangharsh, Op. cit., p. 50.

⁵⁷Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir (15 January 1899 - 18 January 1976) was a Punjabi writer and Indian politician. He has been a member of the Congress Working Committee and also elected for the Lok Sabha in 1952, 1957, and 1962 from Amritsar constituency. He has also served as the Chief Minister of Punjab from 1966 to 1967.

⁵⁸Sardar Hukum Singh (30 August 1895- 27 May 1983) was an Indian politician and the third Lok Sabha speaker from 1962 to 1967. He has also been the governor of Rajasthan from 1967 to 1972. He became a member of the Constituent Assembly of India on 30 April 1948. He has actively taken the part in Constituent Assembly Debates.

⁵⁹M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (4 February 1891 - 19 March 1978) was an Indian politician. He has become an elected member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1934.

⁶⁰Shri Deshabandhu Gupta (14 June 1901 - 21 November 1951), was a freedom fighter, journalist, and legislator. He was broadly known for championing the freedom of the press as a member of the Constituent Assembly and a journalist.

⁶¹ShrimatiDurgabaiDeshmukh (15 July 1909 - 9 May 1981) was a social worker, freedom fighter, politician, and lawyer. She was an elected member of the Constituent Assembly from Madras Province. She founded an organisation as 'Andhra Mahila Sabha' for women's emancipation in 1937. She was the only woman in the chairman's panel in the Constituent Assembly.

⁶²Renuka Ray (1904–1997) was a famous freedom fighter, politician, and social activist. She was the daughter of Satish Chandra Mukherjee an ICS officer and Charulata Mukherjee and descendant of Nibaran Chandra Mukherjee (Brahmo Samaj Reformer). She was also a member of the All India Women's Conference Conference. She was also awarded the Padma Bhushan by the Government of India for her contribution to society.

⁶³Ramnath Goenka (22 April 1904 - 5 October 1991) was the founder of 'The Indian Express' newspaper. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly. In 2000, after his death, he was named amongst the list of '100 people who shaped India' by India Today magazine. There is also one of the most prestigious awards as the 'Rannath Goenka Excellence in Journalism Awards' which was named after him for Indian Journalists.

⁶⁴Bakshi Tek Chand was born on 26 August 1883. He was a politician and Judge from Punjab High Court. He has also a member of the Constituent Assembly of India.

⁶⁵LalaAchint Ram (19 August 1898 - 1961) was a Gandhian, Indian freedom fighter, and a member of the Indian National Congress party. He was a member of the 'Servants of the People Society' founded by LalaLajpat Rai in 1921 in Lahore and had been a member of the Constituent Assembly of India which drafted the Indian Constitution.

⁶⁶Ch. Ranbir Singh (26 November 1914 - 1 February 2009) was a freedom fighter and politician from Haryana. He was the part of the Gandhian army during the freedom struggle. The Indian National Congress Party made him a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1947.

⁶⁷Mahavir Tyagi (31 December 1899 - 22 May 1980) was a freedom fighter and politician and famous parliamentarian from Dehradun. He served for different freedom struggle movements actively and firmly participated in the Constituent Assembly of India.

⁶⁸Vasant Moon (ed.), (January 2014), Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 14, Part 2, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, New Delhi, p. 229. [First Published by Education Department, Govt. of Maharashtra: 6 December 1995].

⁶⁹The Privy Council is a body that advises the head of the nation, in the context of the government of a nation. The word 'privy' means 'private' or 'secret', Thus, a private council was a committee of advisors nearest to the head of the state to give confidential advice on matters of state. See. www.bbc.com.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Vasant Moon (ed.), (January 2014), Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 14, Part 1, New Delhi, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, p. 5. [First Published by Education Department, Govt. of Maharashtra: 6 December 1995].

⁷²Wandana Sonalkar, "An Agenda for Gender Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 34, No. 1/2 (Jan. 2-15, 1999), pp. 24-29.

⁷³Shyama Prasad Mukherjee ((6 July 1901 – 23 June 1953) was a politician, academician, and Barrister who served as the Minister of Industry and Supply in the cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru. With the help of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, he founded the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the predecessor to the Bharatiya Janata Party, in 1951.

⁷⁴Reba Som, "Jawaharlal Nehru and the Hindu Code: A Victory of Symbol over Substance?", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Feb. 1994), pp. 165-194.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Rina Williams, *Postcolonial Politics and Personal Laws*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi: 2006, p. 104.

⁷⁸Rina Verma Williams, *Postcolonial Politics and Personal Laws: Colonial Legal Legacies and the Indian State*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p.104.

⁷⁹Ibid.,p. 104.

⁸⁰Madhu Kishwar, *Op.cit.*, pp. 2145-2161.

⁸¹Balakrishna Vishwanath Keskar (1903 – 28 August 1984) was a politician and Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting during 1952 and 1962.

⁸²Vasant Moon (ed.), (January 2014), Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 14, Part 2, p. 32.

⁸³Lok Sabha Debates, Vol. IV. (1956), Part 11, p. 6860.

⁸⁴Dinshaw Fardunji Mulla, *Principles of Hindu Law*, N M Tripathi Pvt., 15th ed., Calcutta, 1986, p. vii.

⁸⁵Ibid., p 76.

⁸⁶Madhu Kishwar, *Op.cit.*, pp. 2145-2161.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Hari Vinayak Pataskar (15 May 1892-21 February 1970) was an Indian lawyer, a politician, and former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Poona, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly of India and also a former Governor of Madhya Pradesh. In 1963, he was awarded the Padma

Vibhushan, India's second-highest civilian honour, for his services in public affairs.

⁸⁹Lok Sabha Debates, (1956), Vol. IV, Part- II, p. 6951.

⁹⁰Charu Chandra Biswas (21 April 1888-9 December 1960) was an Indian politician affiliated with the Indian National Congress party. He has served as a judge in the Calcutta High Court and also as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta during 1949-50. Biswas has also served as the second law minister of India between 1952 to 1957.

⁹¹Lok Sabha Debates, (1954), Vol. 5, Part-II, pp. 7253-7254, cited in Eleanor Newbiggin, *The Hindu Family and the Emergence of Modern India: Law, Citizenship and Community*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, p. 198.

⁹²Sardar Hukum Singh (30 August 1895 – 27 May 1983) was an Indian politician and also served as the third Speaker of the Lok Sabha between 1962 and 1967. He has been the Governor of Rajasthan from 1967 to 1972. Hukum Singh was elected from the Shiromani Akali Dal as a member of the Constituent Assembly of India. He actively participated in the Constituent Assembly debates and within a year of his entry, property possessed by her he was nominated to the panel of its Speaker.

⁹³J. Duncan M. Derrett, "The Hindu Succession Act, 1956: An Experiment in Social Legislation", *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Autumn, 1959, pp. 485- 501.

⁹⁴Baldev Kohli, "Exclusion of Separated Person under section 6 of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956", *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1967, pp. 93-101.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶Section 6, The Hindu Succession Act, 1956.

⁹⁷"Right by birth: On daughters and Hindu succession act", *The Hindu*, 14 August 2020.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁹"Right by Birth: On Daughters and Hindu Succession Act" (Editorial), *The Hindu*, 14th August, 2020.

¹⁰⁰Arun Kumar Mishra (Born on 3 September 1955) is a former judge of the Supreme Court of India (7 July 2014 - 2 September 2020) and also served as Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, Madhya Pradesh High Court, and Calcutta High Court.

¹⁰¹"Daughters have equal property rights, Hindu Succession Act has retrospective effect, rules SC," *scroll.in*, 11th August 2020.

¹⁰²Apurva Vishwanath, "Reading SC's verdict on Hindu women's inheritance rights", *The Indian Express*, 17th August 2020.

The Migration of Indians to New Zealand: A Historical Narrative¹

Nupur Bapuly

Migration has forever been a key force in the history of humans, but gained prominence during last 150 years. People from every nook and corner of the world have moved in unmatched numbers and in numerous directions. It started extensively by colonial, and then the post-colonial economic and geopolitical realities. These widespread movements resulted in the establishment of new communities. These communities became locations where traditions, beliefs and cultural practices from places of origin met the host society. While some were lost, others remained unchanged although most of them were tailored and adapted.

It has been held that New Zealand, pushed away at the bottom of the South Pacific, was basically unaffected by the migrations which were taking place globally until recently. It is an established fact that the vast population of New Zealand still traces their roots to Anglo-Saxon, Maori or Anglo Celtic roots.² James Belich describes the cultural vitality that was the main driving force behind this demographic pattern as a psychological phenomenon of being a 'Better Britain'. According to this, the period between the mid-nineteenth century and the second half of the twentieth century, one of the major sources of national pride was a perception that New Zealand was an improvised version of the "mother" country, both racially and culturally.³ In the first edition of his seminal work, *A History of New Zealand*, Keith Sinclair (referring to non-Maori New Zealanders) wrote:⁴

Quite reputable and recent books assert that New Zealanders are ninety-nine per cent British, a statement which might be taken to mean that ninety-nine per cent of their ancestors came from the British Isles. In fact, it means that most New Zealanders (ninety- nine per cent in fact) were born within the British Commonwealth and Empire; the figure includes persons from India, Fiji, Samoa... The European population is undoubtedly predominantly of British descent, but what proportion may have one or more German, Scandinavian Yugoslav or other non- British ancestor within the past century is quite unknown.

Here, Sinclair was calling attention to the fact that the society in New Zealand includes small, multiple, diasporic populations, and their presence has conventionally been minimized by the common views on national origins. With White people like Italians and Dalmatians of non-British Origin, it was

effortless to consider their practice into that of the mainstream.⁵ For non-whites such as Chinese and Indians, one of the oldest ethnic minority groups in New Zealand, this was more complicated. After the preliminary hostilities subsided, numerous myths developed about these groups, such as that of the 'model-minority'. According to this understanding of race, Chinese, and to a lesser extent Indian New Zealanders, are seen in a different way as coloured Kiwis, who may appear different and consume foreign food, but are encouraged and assumed to share the attitudes, values and experience of society at large.⁶

History of Indian Diaspora:

Indian emigration has been taking place since times immemorial. Indian diaspora constitutes the third major group next only to the British and the Chinese. Let us examine the evolutionary processes involved in human migration in Indian history.

(a) Diaspora in Ancient India: In times immemorial, Indian saints, seers and messengers of peace travelled to near and far off countries to spread the message of Indian philosophy and tenants of rich Indian culture. Besides, they spread the gospels of Buddhism.⁷ The Angkor vat in Cambodia, Borobudur Buddhist temple, the seven horse driven chariot of Arjuna and Lord Krishna in front of the President's palace in Jakarta in Indonesia and the Hindu temples in Bali province (though majority of the population had embraced Islam successively) of Indonesia are symbol of the rich Indian cultural heritage still existing in those countries.⁸

(b) The Silk Route: The silk route is well known in Indian Diaspora. The traders from Bengal used this route for trade with the neighbouring countries.⁹ Similarly, the South Indian traders dealing in spices not only crossed the borders to neighbourhood but travelled as far as Italy and France. The traders returned to their motherland after disposing off their commodities. They had no imperial motives to colonize.¹⁰

Migration during Colonial Rule: The Indentured Labour Contract System:

Diasporic migration during British Colonial rule was witnessed under a system known as 'Indentured Labour Contract System'¹¹. Black slaves were the main source of labour force for plantation in the colonies. As slavery was abolished by British parliament in 1830, the white colonial masters wanted alternate arrangement for cheap labour force in place of Black slave contingent to work in their colonies.¹² They first tried to recruit labour from China and Indonesia but the experiment failed. The white masters evolved a new system of labour contract known as

indenture system.¹³ Under the system, the labour was contracted for 5 to 10 years on a meagre salary and false promise of nearness of destination and availability of gold was made. Against a promise of one week, it took 'Girmitea' three months to reach Mauritius shores-the nearest country. These indentured labourers were treated like animals on arrival at 'Coolie Ghats (Apravasi Ghat)'.¹⁴ These labourers were auctioned for allotment to the work place. They lived in over-crowded slums and were not allowed any leave. For a day's absence, two days' wages were deducted even if the labourer was ill. The first batch went to Mauritius in 1834 and ever since continued till 1917 when it was abolished under political pressure from India.¹⁵ The indentured labour system lasted for about 80 years in India. This system was a product of abolition of slavery and colonialism. British wanted cheap labour to replace Black slave contingent to work in sugar plantations in their colonies and economically beleaguered labour was available in India. There were basically a number of reasons behind migration under this system:¹⁶

- (a) Poor economic conditions in rural India because of destruction of village and cottage industry resulting in extreme poverty and unemployment and
- (b) Colonial masters found Indians skilful, hardworking and useful.

Indian Migration to Countries under Indentured System:

Migration of Indian labourers under the indenture system first began in 1834 to Uganda, Mauritius and Nigeria. About 1.50 million people migrated under the indentured system. Most of the migrants under the system did not return home after its abolition in 1917.¹⁷

Migration Under 'Kangani' System: This system presents a marked contrast to the recruitment of labourers under other systems. Migration took place under this system to Sri Lanka, Malaya and Burma. All the migrants to Malaya and Sri Lanka were from South India. The headmen identified as the 'Kangani' recruited them and the system came to be known as Kangani.¹⁸

Free Emigration: Under this system the flow of migration took place to Natal, East Africa, Burma, Mauritius Fiji and Malaya in the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This pattern of migration includes traders, skilled artisans, bankers, petty contractors, clerks, professionals and entrepreneurs. Most of the present Indian population of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania migrated under this category. These migrants stimulated opportunities for trade and industry. The basic similarity between kangani system and that of free emigration is that the emigrants

were not unrelated individuals, as in the indenture system, but constituted self-regulating groups recruited on the basis of Kinship, caste and village of origin.¹⁹

Emigration to Gulf Countries: Millions of people of Indian origin are working in gulf countries today. This became possible after the discovery of petroleum products in the Asian deserts. The discovery of petroleum products brought riches to this part of the world. The boom attracted both skilled and unskilled workers from India. The maximum Indian labour force, skilled and unskilled workers, professionals and other educated persons are concentrated in Saudi Arabia. Kerala has sent the maximum number of people to the gulf countries. Maltreatment and discrimination on account of religion are meted out to the gulf based Indians but the earnings earned by them overshadowed such maltreatment.²⁰ There were only 14,000 Indians in the Gulf in 1948-49 which increased to 40,000 in 1971. The oil boom in mid 70s saw the Middle East experiencing an enormous induction of workers from South Asia. The Indian workers comprised of 1,54,418 in 1975, subsequently rising to 5,99,500 in 1981, and to 11,15,000 in 1992.²¹ The population of Indians in West Asia has already crossed two million. Oil exporting countries of North Africa and Gulf such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, The United Arab Emirates, Libya and Qatar and are having increasing demands for Indian Labour Force since 1973.²²

Emigration to Developed Destinations: Brain-Drain Migration: Emigration to the developed destinations like U.S.A., U.K, New Zealand and Australia is a post Second World War phenomenon. Emigration to Britain started during British rule in India. However, a major inflow took place after 1947 after India got independence. People of Indian origin settled in Africa and Caribbean countries also migrated to England and Netherlands. As opposed to the ex-indentured populace, the Indians migrating to the industrially advanced countries maintained extensive ties with their ancestral lands because they were relatively more affluent people. People who migrated to these countries were highly educated and professionally trained persons and their aspirations and life style were quite similar to the Native Americans. Large-scale migration to U.S.A. took place after the revoking of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965.²³ Such migrations were also known as Brain-Drain migration. The phenomenon of Brain Drain was accelerated due to globalization, privatization and liberalization of world economy.²⁴

Indian Diasporic Communities in New Zealand:

It is important to consider the historical circumstances of Indian diaspora in New Zealand, in order to put the histories of

these New Zealanders into the context of larger diasporic patterns. The history of the advent of Indians in New Zealand is not as well researched or as well-known as that of the Chinese. The earliest settlers were majorly Punjabi men, who settled in the Waikato between 1890 and 1910 and mainly worked as scrub cutters.²⁵ The major chunk of Indians to arrive in New Zealand during this phase came from southern Gujarat, beginning to arrive in small groups around 1910.²⁶ Prior to the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1921, Indians were comparatively less subject to restrictions because of their standing as British colonial subjects. This allowed many Indian men to come to New Zealand as "sojourners" and in due course return back with accumulated funds.²⁷

The Act of 1921 allowed the Customs service to refuse entry permits to people of non-European ancestry, stemming the traffic back and forth between India and New Zealand. Under the pressure of the British Colonial Office, existing migrants were allowed a re-entry permit, and to bring their wives and children to New Zealand.²⁸ This altered the nature of Indian immigration to New Zealand. Between 1920 and 1930, although numbers declined on the whole, but those who settled put down more stable roots and brought their families to New Zealand. Like the Chinese community, this newly established outpost of the Indian diaspora remained mostly unaffected for several decades in the post-war period. This altered with the loosening of regulations in 1972, which allowed non-white professionals to come to New Zealand. At this point a few engineers, doctors, and academics made the journey from India to New Zealand.²⁹ The extensive changes made in 1986 have significantly altered the face of the Indian community in New Zealand, with an influx of Fiji Indians after the 1987 military coup in Fiji, as well as an amplified flow of economic migrants from India itself.³⁰

From these brief historical sketches, it is probable to highlight some common points about how the phenomenon of Asian diaspora has played out in New Zealand. In 1990, Clarke, Peach and Vertovec, proposed a method to carry out a comparative study of South Asian diasporic populations.³¹ With minor adaptation, it provides a useful medium through which any diasporic community can be viewed. It groups factors which impact on the diasporic experience into four general headings:

1. Migration processes and factors of settlement: type of migration, extent of ties with country of origin, economic activity in new country, geographic features of settlement, infrastructure of 'host' society.
2. Cultural composition: religion, language, region of origin, degree of cultural homogeneity.

3. Social structure and political power: extent and nature of ethnic pluralism in new country, class composition of diasporic group, degree of 'institutionalized racism', involvement in party politics.
4. Community development: organizations, leadership and degree of ethnic convergence or conflict.

The framework discussed above throws new light onto the histories of New Zealand's Indian and Chinese communities and emphasize upon the strong resemblance between the Chinese and Indian experience in New Zealand, in spite of their diverse cultural backgrounds. A good illustration of the similarities is the sort of migration that primarily brought Chinese and Indian to these shores. Both groups principally came to New Zealand for economic betterment. The early migrants from both the countries came from the landed rural peasantry. A number of factors that encouraged migration are also common to both groups. Varying economic realities impacted deeply on rural people in the countries of origin, as did the lack of regulations preventing their entry to New Zealand, a particularly important after restrictive legislation had been enacted in other diasporic sites such as the Australia and United States.³² New Zealand, possibly by virtue of its geographical segregation and little population, seems not to have fascinated the traders and merchants who were a facet of diasporic communities elsewhere. However, meticulous peasants found the job-related opportunities available – gold mining for the Chinese and hawking and scrub cutting for the Indians.

For groups, 'sojourning' (the intention to return to India and China with the fruits of economic gains) and chain migration (people already in New Zealand encouraging and enabling friends and relatives to migrate) were strong features of early contact. These phenomena changed chiefly because the New Zealand government altered its official policy towards non-white immigrants.³³ Following this decision, the men who had arrived as sojourners had to decide whether to go back home or settle permanently. Most of them left, but a few stayed and formed the nuclei of the New Zealand Asian communities. This is not to say that there was not still traffic between India and China and New Zealand. The point is that it was restricted to the immediate families of those already here.³⁴ This meant that both the communities developed a strangely high level of cultural homogeneity in terms of region of language, origin, class, religion, level of education and caste in the case of Indians. While some in the Indian community maintained strong personal and financial ties with their villages of origin, the strong hold of the communist government in China throughout the second half of the twentieth century restricted the contact Chinese New Zealanders had with Mainland China.³⁵

The narrow-mindedness of these numerically small and culturally homogenous budding communities was amplified by a perception that they were not welcome or equal in New Zealand society.³⁶ Writers from within both communities have commented on this. Lalita Kasanji, a Gujarati sociology student, noted that:³⁷

One of the major reasons why the Gujaratis' activities remained within their community was because of the New Zealand European and Indian relationship. Even though the relationships between the two populations improved after World War Two, and many Gujarati women found their neighbours to be friendly and concerned about their welfare, the Gujaratis at times found Europeans to be prejudiced and discriminatory towards Indians. Gujaratis would find that on buses many Europeans would point to dilapidated houses and assert that Indians lived in them.

Apart from random acts of resentment, there were also occurrences of organized prejudice, such as the activities of the White New Zealand League, whose members contradicted Indians acquiring land in the 1920s, and the official restrictions that intended Chinese were incapable to vote, work in the public service or stand on juries until 1952.³⁸

These factors drove communities in on themselves. Community organizations such as the New Zealand Indian Association, and diverse church and clan based Chinese groups, were formed to provide support and social contact and to preserve religious and cultural practices.³⁹ Possibly because of the small numbers involved, 'Chinatowns' and 'Little India' did not actually build up in New Zealand, though in certain streets, such as Haining St., and Wellington had concentrated Chinese populations in the early decades of the twentieth century. The Indian and Chinese and cultural organizations continued to be homogeneous and united all through the 1940s, 50s, 60s and 70s. The arrival of Indians and Chinese from diverse backgrounds in the 1980s-90s provided an occasion for a change, but, for the Indian Association at least, the integration of new groups proved complicated, and ultimately new organizations were created to serve the newcomers.

International migration today constitutes a key force of social transformation in the contemporary world. Migrants develop trans-national identities, which question the traditional notions of distinct national belonging. Migration of people across borders has shaped states and societies since the very early days, but today they are distinctive in their global extent with their centrality to domestic and international politics having vast economic and social consequences. The movements take many forms: people migrate as highly qualified specialists, manual workers, refugees,

entrepreneurs or as family members of earlier migrants. Migratory networks build up, connecting places of origin and destination and can alter economic, demographic and social structures of nations bringing a new cultural variety. It also gives rise to novel forms of trans-national society, interdependence and regional and bilateral co-operation, which transforms lives of millions of people and decides the destinies of societies and states.⁴⁰ These developments are inextricably associated to the problems of living collectively in one society for the socially and culturally diverse ethnic groups. Settlers are different from the receiving populations as they come from diverse kinds of societies with different religions, traditions, occupations, language and may be racially or ethnically divergent. Their status largely depends upon the importance attached to them by the population and position of the receiving countries. Diasporic population, resulting from population movements are subject to the prevalent immigration policies and rules governing citizenship and naturalization of the host nation owing to their ethnic diversity. The classical countries have in general seen immigrants as permanent settlers who were required to be assimilated or integrated. Where the governments have accepted permanent settlement, there has been granting of minority political and cultural rights as personified in the policies of multiculturalism introduced in Australia, Canada and Sweden since 1970s. Multiculturalism as a framework addresses the needs, issues, and problems of culturally distinct settler groups letting them develop and uphold their respective culture, while contemporaneously and interacting within a structure of a multi-ethnic society.⁴¹

Multiculturalism with its system of special agencies, consultative bodies and equal opportunities legislation has come up as a safeguard against discrimination and difficulties faced by diasporic population. The multicultural model of Australia accepts the cultural diversities and social changes brought by immigration and see them as one enriching rather than being a threat to the predominant culture. A multicultural model augments democratic life as it offers choices. Thus, migration and settlement are very much related to the political, economic and cultural linkages between different countries. Migrations occur from complex relations between diverse societies, and help to form new links. The global temperament of international migration results in the cohabitation and combination of people from increasingly dissimilar cultural and physical and settings. It is a part of the diasporic condition to amplify multiple identities, which are associated to cultures of their homeland and of the country of adoption. The mobility of people and consequent shaping of diasporic identities will thus remain a key issue in an epoch of rapidly growing world culture and globalised nations.

Endnotes:

¹Some of these aspects at length and in detail have been discussed in my doctoral dissertation that will be submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in couple of months. I express my sincere gratitude to Dr. B. Ramachandra Reddy for not only the comments and suggestions, but also for providing the relevant materials.

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Historiographical Account of Shilpkar Andolan of Uttarakhand and its Contribution to Caste Awareness¹

Ipsita Singh

This paper analyses Shilpkar Andolan (Shilpkar Movement) which took birth in hill districts of North India namely Uttarakhand. It will first look at events that took place which led to its formation and impact factors such as education and employment had on Shilpkar. The paper will lastly highlight the fact that Shilpkar Andolan is a movement and not mere protest.

Caste as a system is very dynamic and somehow adapts to the changing conditions. It is a system of social stratification which has the following characteristics which are endogamy, distinct ritual status, practice of purity and pollution, status based on occupation.² Thus, it has led to a complex structure endemic to Indian society with its rigid laws and little scope for transgression and making our society a highly stratified society.

Caste in the Hills:

The concept of purity and pollution governs the relations between different castes. This concept is absolutely fundamental to the caste system and along with the concepts of karma and dharma it contributes to make castes the unique institution it is".³ It rationalises the distinctions based on caste, it is the ritual status which confers privilege to one group over another. This makes the caste system consistent and a dynamic institution.

Gerald Berreman in his study on Sirkanda village highlighted that caste system is not as rigid society as the plains.⁴ However, the strict barriers of status elevation by a group, inter-dining, social distancing are similar to the upper castes. The division of society is two-fold i.e., the Brahman and Rajput or Khasas and Doms. The Doms are considered untouchable which includes all the occupational groups considered polluting. The dichotomy of high caste and low caste is pervaded in the hills. Since the hills are isolated there is stricter caste identification and there existed various forms of oppression and exclusion.

Etymology of Shilpkar:

The term Shilpkar was used to for those people who were involved in the work of art and handlooms. It was never considered a caste-based slur. According to some oral testimonies, it was a term given by Lala Lajpat Rai on his visit to Kumaon while some emphasised that this term has been used since time immemorial. Shilpkar consider themselves as the 'original inhabitants' of the region.

The Shilpkars were considered lower than the Biths (upper castes) and were denied any sort of rights. It is an umbrella term for the schedule castes of the hill region. They were mostly granted the right to play drums and manufacture arms. There was a fourfold classification of the group. First group included Tamta, Lohar and Koli. The second group was composed of Pahari, Bhool, Chimyar, Agri and the third included caste like Mochi, Bukhuriya, Chamar. The last group consisted of Dholi, Beri etc.⁵ These groups suffered from abject poverty and faced exclusion. The Valmiki and Mochis migrated from Uttar Pradesh and were not considered the original inhabitants. They comprise of weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, basket makers, musicians among others. In the present times it consists of fifty-two castes as Shilpkar. In all other spheres, they were victims of practice of untouchability which prevailed and took roots in the reigns of Gurkhas or the Chands, Pawar, Katyuri dynasty. It was British who employed Shilpkars for various works and it became a plank for social mobility.

In Uttarakhand, there exist a *Schedule Caste* category called Shilpkar which has always been subjugated in the hilly terrain.⁶ According to Edwin Atkinson, who refers to the Shilpkars as dark skinned doesn't distinguish them with the chamars of Uttar Pradesh.⁷ The Shilpkars were essentially a community comprising of local artisans, craftsmen, musicians etc.⁸ They are considered true descendants and are the custodians of the local culture. The Shilpkars undertook a movement and can be considered a momentous act in the history of Uttarakhand as an act of resistance by the marginalised community. It was an act of assertion of identity and is viewed by many as a by-product of local politics, efforts of Dalit organisation in the state and the changes in the national arena. This paper aims to understand the Shilpkar Andolan as a movement, its history and formation.

The coronation of the King Edward V in 1911, led to a sense of awareness of their position in the hill society where celebrations were held at many places. One such place was in Almora, where a Shahi Darbar was held.⁹ In this function a dictate was sent out to all Shilpkars prohibiting them from attending the function and if anybody attends the function would be met with violence. This is one such moment which led to a realisation among the shilpkars of their structural position and caste dis-privileges.

This had a multiplier effect on the consciousness formation of the Shilpkars. In order to have some form of consciousness an awareness was required which was given a push by education which was made accessible by the involvement of Christian missionaries first and later due to the works of Arya Samaj.¹⁰ This led to growth of education for the depressed classes in the hills.

Christian Missionaries:

It was in 1866 a couple named Mendzel had contributed to the education of people from the hills.¹¹ Mrs. Mendzel in 1868 in a village named Chopra near Pauri was one of the first attempts at opening schooling for children.¹² It is interesting to note that most of the notable men from Uttarakhand have received education from the schools established by the missionaries. The exclusion faced by those who have been oppressed since time immemorial found some sort of escape. The society goes into a frenzy if one caste tries to alter its social position. In opposition to this, Christianity seemed a better alternative. It was initially the Shilpkars which converted to Christianity due to the rigidities of caste system. It was possible due to the aid provided by Henry Ramsey which enabled the Christian missionaries to propagate their religion and establish themselves in Uttarakhand.

Christianity seemed like an alternative which proved a relief to all those repressed under the Hindu religion. In 1907, a revival movement was started, and it started from Dogadda because Uttarakhand had reported large number of cases of proselytization. It was due to the effect of British missionaries and western education that the seeds of liberty and equality bloomed among the depressed classes and emerged as a challenge to the established Hindu caste system which sought to strive for their fundamental rights, likewise the western education gave birth to the idea of self-rule and freedom among the high castes. Thus, the same system of education imparted two varying ideals among Indians. The awareness that emerged among the educated Shilpkars led to the identity formation and a realisation of their social position, atrocities and oppression by the upper castes.

The social movements by Dalits have a long history and regional complexities. Jyotirao Phule can be considered the progenitor of social change among the depressed classes who fought for social equality during the British rule and it was Ambedkar's effort that gave direction to the needs and wants of depressed classes in India. Ambedkar brought the demands and wrath of the oppressed classes on national level politics.

The recording of the decennial census led to unintended promotion of social mobility.¹³ According to Srinivas, the intellectual curiosity of the British led to great deal of works on caste system. The works of Nesfield, Elliot, Dalton, Sheering, Walton and Atkinson all led to works dealing with the origins or maintenance of caste system which aided in understanding of caste via official methods of data collection. The method of data collection reached its pinnacle with the Census of 1901 under the command

of Sir H.H. Risley. It is in 1909, under the leadership of Aga Khan, muslims demanded representation in government services on the ground that their population was one fifth on India.¹⁴ They opposed the consolidation of Tribes, Dalits and other religious minorities as Hindus during the calculation of the population. They argued that their population was more than the Hindus.

The Daily Partap Jalandhar in 1921 wrote:¹⁵

In this country, the basis of government depends on the population ... Thus conversion or purification has become a question of life and death for the Hindus. Muslim population has raised from non-entity to seven crores and the population of Christians is about four lacs. Seven crore population of Muslims is a great problem for the twenty-two crores of Hindus. If their population goes on increasing, then god knows what will happen to Hindus. It is true that purification should be in religious matters only. But on account of other reasons Hindus are being forced even to accept their other brothers. If Hindus still do not awake, they will be totally annihilated.

The policy of classifying Hindus as mentioned above became a policy matter in 1911 census. However, in Uttarakhand, Shilpkars were enumerated under the category of Muslims and thus it was problematic. In the regard to the census of 1911 many castes elected their own councillors in order to present their position as one which was high in social status and respectable.

Caste Associations:

In Garhwal and Kumaon various caste-based associations came up but were mostly savarna caste associations. However, some Dalit associations began to emerge like the Tamta Sudhark Sabha formed in 1905 took a decision to broaden its ambit and include the whole of Shilpkar community in order to enhance the social status. The 'Tamta Sudharak Sabha' was organised in 1905 in Almora City.¹⁶ This organisation earlier was limited to Tamta caste alone but later expanded its ambit and worked for the welfare of all the Shilpkars community. In the same year another caste-based organisation solely for the demands of Brahmans came up at Tihari. The president of Tamta Sudhar Sabha was Shri Krishan Chandra Tamta and secretary Shri Hari Tamta.¹⁷ The objectives of the above-mentioned association were as follows:¹⁸

"To strengthen the feelings of devotion and loyalty to the thrones of his most gracious majesty by enumerating the countless boons and blessings which the British rule has conferred upon the Indian people.

To promote interest in hygiene.

To promote interest in Secular education.

To promote interest in Art and Industry.

To promote interest in Sanitary and Hygienic principles.

To preach temperance and social purity to community.

To help in providing necessary articles in the shape of utensils and furniture on the occasions of social and religious ceremonies in the community.

To look after the interest of the community in the development of mental, moral and industrial matters."

Thus, great emphasis was given to the development of the Tamta caste. During 1905-1911 this organisation was involved in solving peripheral issues. The incident of Shahi Darbar became engraved in the minds of the Shilpkars and as a result of some form of awakening which led to the Tamta Sabha extending its membership to all Shilpkars and renamed itself as Shilpkar Sabha in 1912 by Shri Hari Prasad Tamta. The Shilpkars who were socially outcastes, economically impoverished and lacking any political rights soon got associated with the organisation with zeal.

These associations can be also regarded as social movement organisations since they represent and promote the interests of the community. Thus, giving us a semblance of organisational structure in a movement. We need to comprehend the existence of such organisations as social movement organisations since they not only contribute resources but also aid in realisation of the goals of the movement. However, Donatella Porta and Diani disagrees and regard such organisations as "networks of interaction" that exists between multiple actors which may or may not have a formal structure since it entirely depends on the changing circumstances.¹⁹

In 1913, Lala Lajpat Rai²⁰ was invited by Daulat Ram²¹ and Khushi Ram²² to the hills which led to the establishment of Shilpkar Sudharni Sabha. It was an identical organisation to Shilpkar Sabha and both had similar objectives. Later on, the Shilpkar Sabha developed proximity to the British administration while the Shilpkar Sudharni Sabha became nearer to Arya Samaj. It can't be denied that irrespective of the two organisation there was cognisance of their identity.

The Shilpkar Sabha and the Shilpkar Sudharni Sabha with renewed vigour started working towards banning the word "Dom".²³ These words were in usage in Kumaon and Garhwal since eight century A.D. and survived during the reign of Chand,

Gorkha and British regime. Shilpkar leaders like Khushi Ram, Hari Prasad Tamta, Babu Bodha Singh and Jayanand Bharti unanimously worked towards non-usage of the term. The term Pahari-Dom was used for the low castes of the hills. There were many letters written for the same purpose. Khushi Ram in a letter to the then governor wrote " 'Dom' was used for the people of criminal tribes of plains and it has no concern with the depressed class people of hills. These words are used to humiliate other."²⁴ Therefore, he sought its removal but we can observe the distanciation in his letter whereby 'Dom' is a category best suited for people from plains rather than persuading the governor to completely ban the term. In another letter the Commissioner of Census accepted his incapability in usage of the term,²⁵ while in another letter by Superintendent census operation of Uttar Pradesh explained that the possibility of the usage of the term Sudra in place of Dom.²⁶ Unsatisfied by the results, the shilpkars started a movement which finally resulted in the Commissioner of Census, Nainital in 1930 conceding the usage of the term Shilpkars instead of Pahari-Dom. The British wanted to attach the suffix followed by the subcaste or the occupational name i.e. Shilpkar Tamta or Shilpkar Koli. However, in 1931, this term was completely banned and a name i.e. Shilpkar, symbolising their identity was accepted. The census of 1931 used the term Shilpkar due to the opposition by Shilpkars. This was an important milestone in the history of Shilpkar movement. Shilpkars parallelly set up a conference to discuss the issues and problems faced by the community.

It is true that Dalit Bahujan need to make networks of alliance which in the long run leads to formation of solidarity. However, their queries, issues and suggestions shouldn't be sidelined which has become a common feature in various seminars which debate on Dalit rights but lack representation of any Dalit leader, writer or academician. The idea of collectivity was always a constant in this sporadic movement. It is a movement and not a protest as it existed over spans of time and had similar characteristic to a social movement.

Political Activities:

The association of Indian people with some form of democracy led to the development of political will among Indians, Dalits also soon harboured the will to fight for their rights due to the same awareness. Shilpkars in the hills also became more involved for their demands though the medium of various conferences.

On 27th August 1925, a great conference of the Shilpkars was to be held at Deyolidada Almora. This reportedly was not perceived well by the Brahmans and Rajputs of the region and a

counter movement was started by Bheem Singh Mehra of Chhakana, Nainital to outshine the conference by Shilpkars.²⁷ The conference of Shilpkars saw huge number of attendees both from Kumaon and Garhwal. According to the coverage by a news daily it saw attendance around two to three thousand.²⁸ This conference discussed on range of issues. This conference garnered a lot of print media coverage. In various daily newspaper it highlighted the issues of Shilpkars. In a newspaper titled *Shakti Weekly*, an article published as 'Awakening of Shilpkars' is as follows:²⁹

The movement of Shilpkars has completed its 14 years. They have now awakened. Further, there is need to begin routine work of livelihood. This is a matter of great pleasure that some people have taken steps towards this direction. On 14th July, in a meeting of Shilpkars at Surmone, a decision has been taken to establish a Shilpkar Udyogi Sanstha (Shilpkar institution of Industry). To fulfil its object, Bachhi Ram and Sundur Lal, contractors have promised to pay Rs 100- each and similarly Narayan Ram contractor has promised to pay Rs. 500/. In this institution the children will get primary training of spinning, weaving, carpentry and black smith. This institution is given the name of "Dayanand Shilpa Vidhyalaya" Bhumtra Arya is appointed as head of this institution.

Thus, the voices of the oppressed was being heard. Such publications provided a platform to the voices of various leaders of Uttarakhand. The Freedom struggle witnessed less participation by the Shilpkars but soon two forms of ideology emerged among the Shilpkars namely, the Gandhian ideology and the form of ideology advocated by Hari Prasad Tamta which was deeply influenced by Ambedkar. The leaders of National movement preached equality but the ground level reality had little impact which resulted in the growing alienation among the low castes.

Shilpkar Andolan:

Shilpkar Movement started in the early 1920s and spanned till Independence. It existed in intervals of time. The term Andolan here implies a collective movement and not protest. This movement had many stalwarts like Munshi Hari Prasad Tamta, Baldev Arya, Jayanand Bharti etc. This movement was started with the aim to bring out awareness about the social conditions of the Shilpkars and need to instil in the community a sense of confidence in their own identity. This paper analyses the Shilpkar movement as a social movement. "Social movements are one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about their rights, welfare and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective

action.”³⁰ The major purpose of social movements is the expression of “collectivity” and therefore it becomes a medium for voicing of claims. India has a long history of various regional social movements that have existed since pre-Independence. Similarly, Shilpkar Andolan was one such movement which arose to articulate the demands of a marginalised caste. According to David Snow, social movements remain unnoticed apart from their local context since their functions are not paid heed to by the national or international media.³¹ The social movements are also viewed as the “fifth estate” through which there is some form of awareness. One needs to problematize the conceptualisation of the social movements in order to have a detailed understanding. Sarah Soule, emphasises that social movements are based on the following factors: whether ‘the social movement is a collective or joint action?, secondly, is it change oriented goals or claims?, thirdly, is there some extra- or non-institutional collective action?, fourthly, is there some degree of organisation and lastly, is there some degree of temporal continuity?’³² Social movements is often used as an umbrella term for various forms of collective action. Therefore, what do we mean by “collective action”? It is the action which is aimed towards a certain goal by two or more person. Hence, it warrants pursuit of a collective demand via joint action by people working in cohesion for the realisation of an objective. However, social movements are defined by their very their usage of non-institutionalised means such as boycott, or usage of public grounds for protests etc. Therefore, due to the dissimilar positioning of social movements it leads to the production of a different set of collectivities, tactics and strategies.

Such movements aim at revisiting or creating changes in the society and are crucial for the growth of our society. Thus, social movements can be defined as “collectivities acting with some degree of organisation and continuity outside of institutional or organisational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organisation, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part.”³³

Caste Consciousness:

The seeds of consciousness were sown by small acts by members of this caste whether it was the first time a Shilpkar was elected as member of the Municipality or the incident of Royal Coronation prohibiting attendance of Shilpkars. Another personality whose name is always associated with this movement is Shri Hari Prasad Tamta whose arrival on the political arena really brought changes in awakening of the shilpkars from their slumber. Shri Hari Prasad Tamta was born on 26th August 1888 in Almora.³⁴ He was born in the Tamta caste which comes under

the Shilpkar caste. His entry in politics began in 1903 with the aim of joining struggles for any form of social reforms. He formed the Tamta Sudhar Sabha in 1905.³⁵ This can be viewed as the first attempt at some form of organisational association in the state by the shilpkar caste and consciousness formation.

Durkheim refers to the term consciousness as one that signifies collectivity i.e. collective consciousness which has an ability to bind people together and their interactions and the process of identity formation.³⁶ Mead writes that in order to understand the self and one's identity, we have to understand that self is also social and must be seen in conjunction with its social situations. To understand lives of Shilpkars of Uttarakhand one has to consider the social self and historical situations.

The emergence of simmering consciousness in Modern India is a covert manifestation for their search for identity. C.H. Cooley writes:³⁷

Social Consciousness, or awareness of society, is inseparable from self-consciousness, because we can hardly think of ourselves excepting with reference to a social group of some sort, nor of the group except with reference to ourselves. The two things go together, and what we are really aware of is a more or less complex personal or social whole, of which now the particular, now the general aspect is emphasised.

Thus, our self and society are complexly intertwined.³⁸ We need to grasp that our personal and social history are interlinked. "Neither life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both."³⁹ Sociological imagination enables one to reason with various different standpoint. It helps one in making connection between different aspects of society i.e. political, economic and culture. It sheds light on the functioning of modern society and questions the taken for granted assumptions in the society. Hari Prasad Tamta, in order to improve the social conditions of the Shilpkars aligned himself with the British and petitioned to the British commissioner to let Shilpkar be recruited in the army due to lack of ownership of lands.

The land in Uttarakhand was consolidated by two groups only Brahmans and Rajputs. This enabled them not only to gain economically but also keep check on any sprouts of political consciousness. In regards to this, the editor of Samta and president of Jat-PatiTodak Mandal, Shri Sant Ram B.A. wrote "Dvijas like Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishayas, have as much as of wealth, as even equivalent to one over twenty-five lacs of which is not with all Dalits."⁴⁰ This led to Hari Prasad Tamta, Khushi Ram and Bodha Singh to collectively petition the British about the

landlessness of the Shilpkars and seek an intervention. British in order to maintain their supremacy employed the tactic of pacifying such demands in order to suppress any forms of protest. Henceforth, the policy of rehabilitating shilpkars commenced. A letter written by Deputy Commissioner of Almora, brings to notice that a plan for redistribution of land was to be undertaken in which land was to be distributed to Shilpkars on a lease of seven years named Kulau.⁴¹ The land allotment of 165 acres was fixed out of which 130 acres was demarcated for agriculture and had sufficient supply of water. The British government then established many Shilpkar colonies in various areas in Uttarakhand. One such example is 95 acres of land in Papoli block of Lohaghat region.⁴² One colony was established south of Almora City and two others were set up at different places on 18 acres of land in Pithoragarh. All this was completed within four years on a land of 250 acres with attached agricultural land.

Social Mobility among Shilpkars:

The Shilpkars who were kept away from government services were slowly being inducted in the services which can be seen as a big milestone. The post of Diwan and Fajdar were mostly reserved for the 'immigrated' Brahmins. The khasa were also considered worthy of it let alone the outcastes Shilpkars. The Commissioner of Garhwal and Kumaon observed that there was monopoly of the Brahmins. There has always existed strong correlation between occupation and castes and the higher respected jobs were usually reserved for the Dwijas. Naval and Anwar Ali observe:⁴³

As regards the question of Hindus, there was some internal relation between traditional occupations related to caste system and new western system of industry in those days and to some extent it is still continuing. In this way the upper caste people were in the occupations of Doctors, Lawyers and also in high government and in fact chiefly in all the white collared jobs and low caste people in compulsory services and other services to help other high services.

This correlation even continues in modern times whereby with the aid of western education the high castes are employed in higher paying and respectable jobs while the labour, artisans, low castes are still in lower rungs of the occupational pyramid. It is only through the policy of affirmative action that there has been some sort of marginal representation in the high paying jobs in the government sector alone and the gulf between the avarnas and savarnas has widened with the passage of time. This has also consolidated the rivalry between the castes as well. It was only around the end of 20th century the Shilpkars movement raised the

question of recruitment of Shilpkars in government services. It was in 1936, the Shilpkars youths were recruited in police as a result.⁴⁴ In the same year, in the State Legislative Assembly elections many Shilpkar leaders contested. Shri Hari Prasad Tamta won unopposed. Babu Prasad Tamta also won from Kumaon till the year 1939.⁴⁵ In 1945, Hari Prasad Tamta, who was famous for his service to the people, was elected, for the first time, as the Chairman of the Municipal Committee Almora, which was a city centre of upper caste intellectuals and worked on this post up to 1952. At the same time, Ram Prasad Tamta was nominated as the member of state legislative council, in 1946. Similarly, many Shilpkar leaders like Bachhi Ram Arya, Baldev Singh Arya, Babu Bodha Singh, Keshav Lal Tamta etc were also successful in getting seats in different District Boards and Municipalities.⁴⁶

Thus, it is to be seen as a major milestone in the Shilpkar history. It was the first successful engagement with politics and representation. This led to many leaders coming forward and inspired the Shilpkar youth to become aware of their positioning in the social system and assert their identity.

The figure of recruitment made between September 1939-1942, the total recruitment of the soldiers was 43,396 and Almora alone contributed to one quarter of it i.e., 10043, followed by Sitapur-3876, Balia-2239 and Raibareilly-2087.⁴⁷ The major political parties during that era were inattentive of the caste issues and its impact on the lives of Dalits in India. The attraction towards army could be seen as a means of long-term employment for a large number of shilpkars. Hence, it led to many youths coming forward. It was also seen as a vehicle of upward mobility Shilpkars who were treated as slaves and denied their basic human rights, wealth, power and prestige could with the aid of British fathom a reality in which they could be assertive and seek their basic rights.

Social Reform and its impact:

In the 20th century, many reform movements were started to transform the Hindu religion like Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Rama Krishna Mission. In Uttarakhand, the Arya Samaj movement gained traction. Swami Dayanand Saraswati was the progenitor of the movement and was a social reformer. He was opposed to idol worship, the varna system, untouchability, child marriage and supported widow marriage and education of women.⁴⁸

Such a movement aimed at internal reformation in order to rid the Hindu system of all evils. Dayanand Saraswati expressed his views: "That upliftment of Dalits or Untouchables can be possible by giving them education, raising their social status, so

that they may not feel inferior complexity.”⁴⁹ The Arya Samaj movement aimed at creating social and political awareness in the backward areas of Uttarakhand. During this time, Christian missionaries were also very active in hills of Kumaon and Garhwal. They opened up many schools and colleges. The impact of education led to assertion of identity.

This movement inculcated a sense of identity among the Dalits and forged a collective identity as Shilpkars. This brought with it a sense of pride associated with their craft which was earlier looked down. It also served another function of development of collective conscience as stated by Durkheim. The acumen with which the Shilpkar leaders were able to organise various conference all over the state often subject to criticism and at times even physical violence needs to be acknowledged. It is difficult to define the characteristics of social movements more so any Dalit movements due to the presence of regional complexities and diversity.⁵⁰ It sheds light on light on subvert power relation, hierarchical positioning and at times reflexive realisation.

Conclusion:

The Andolan was not one moment of peak existing at just one point of time rather it was a sporadic movement which began from 1920s and lasted till Independence. However, like any movement it also faced moments of burnout. Similarly, in this movement one of the primary reason was falling out among various leaders of the Shilpkar, allegation and counter allegations. It sustained itself precisely because it took a very calculative course i.e., with the aid of whatever form of education imparted to the first-generation learners of the community a sense of collectivity was formed and it broadened their viewpoint. They associated themselves with the constitutional means of petitioning to the government in order for their demands to be heard. Similar to the Independence movement which spanned over years this movement also had its ups and downs. It was a movement which had an exterior of a political movement but was a social movement for the upliftment of the Shilpkar community. With the ushering of some form of Modernisation and Industrialisation, one could witness the consolidation of caste horizontally.

The movement as mentioned earlier dissipated during the culmination of Independence of our country. There were visible cracks in the leadership and like every movement it also lost its energy. Thus, any social movement operates in temporal continuity and are therefore episodic in nature.⁵¹ The whole cycle of protest becomes an essential aspect of movements. Even the organisation involved in the movements tend to struggle with (a) problem of funds (b) the sustenance and attraction of

old members and new members in the organisation. Any social movement has three important mechanism, namely, the presence of an identified problem in this case, the apathy towards the Shilpkar caste, secondly, the presence of informal network i.e., in the form of caste-based association, thirdly, the emphasis on collective identity.⁵² The existence of social movements is precisely due the existence of this collective identity. "Collective identity is strongly associated with recognition and the creation of connectedness".⁵³ Nonetheless, this movement is a crucial act of resistance by the Shilpkars in the history of Uttarakhand where the sole aim was assertion of their identity. This sadly has been subject to erasure by the people and the State government and finds place only in very limited works and oral testimonies.

Endnotes:

¹Some of these aspects discussed in this paper are part of my doctoral dissertation, is to be submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, soon. I thank the 'anonymous reviewer' for the comments and suggestions.

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¹⁷Ibid., p.513.

¹⁸Ibid.,p. 513.

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²¹He was a social reformer and Shilpkar leader.

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²³It implies low caste, who were considered untouchables.

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Section - B: Tourism Management

Heritage Centres and Tourism Promotion in India - An Over View

K. Vijaya Babu & S. Chandra Kala

India is the land of diversity. We can see diversity in Geo-physical aspects which resulted in the diversity of cultures. Geographical location of India had also played an important role in shaping the history and culture of the country. Himalayas in the north and Western Ghats in the west side and Eastern Ghats in the east side in addition to Aravali and Vindhya mountains and other hill ranges also played vital role in shaping the history and cultural life of the people. The Himalayas are the sources of perennial rivers like Sindhu, Ganga, and Brahmaputra. Similarly, there are Godavari, Krishna along with their tributaries in Deccan and South India. All these rivers have been providing irrigational facilities and also drinking water to the people. The Himalayan mountains, Western Ghats, Eastern Ghats and other hill ranges have been the centres of rich flora and fauna with lot of diversity.

The Himalayas and the Thar desert have served as natural barriers and protected the country from the invasions of barbaric tribes from West Asia. The South Indian peninsula is surrounded by Arabian Sea in the west, Bay of Bengal in the east, the Indian Ocean in the in south. The sea shores and the beaches also played an important role in our economy. The fishing industry has provided a lot of employment to the people in the coastal areas. The sea ports located in the western , eastern and southern sides have been helping to promote international trade and commerce. The port cities have developed as centres of diverse cultures because of the international contacts in different historical times. The fertile lands in the plain areas on the banks of the rivers Sindhu, Ganga, Godavari, Krishna and their tributaries emerged as centres of agriculture, production of handicrafts and also trade and commerce. These centres became very prosperous with surplus production which promoted trade and commerce. The prosperity of the land had attracted the attention of various royal dynasties like Mauryans, Kushanas, Satavahanas, Guptas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Rajputs, Delhi Sultans, Mughals, , Kakatiyas, Vijaya Nagara rulers, Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis and others. The European Companies like French and English had also fought several wars to occupy Indian lands and finally the colonial British Company succeeded and ruled India for two hundred years till 1947.

The Mauryas, Kushanas, Guptas, Delhi Sultans, Mughals in the North have established their capital cities and ruled this country for several centuries. Similarly, in South India Satavanas,

Ikshwakus, Chalukyas, Rastakutas, Pandyas, Cholas, Pallavas, Vijayanagras, Kakatiyas, have ruled the southern Indian territories and contributed immensely for the growth of literature, traditional science and technology, Religion and Philosophy, their capital cities had emerged as great centres of art and architecture, Saranath, Sanchi, became International centers of Buddhism, Sravana Belagola had become Jain centre. The Ajanta, Ellora caves and Paintings had become world famous. In South India, the temples constructed by the Cholas, Pandyas and Pallvas became popular as great centres of art and architecture during the medieval times. The forts built by the Delhi Sultans and Mughals in North India and Forts built by the Kakatiyas, Vijayanagras and Bahmanis and Asaf Jahis are wonderful Historical Monuments in South India.

In Telangana region, there are several pilgrim centres. There are very popular temples like Ramappa and Thousand Pillar Temple in Warangal. Basara Saraswathi temple in Adilabad, Nava Brahma Temple and Jogulamba temples in Mahabubnagar Chaya Someswara and Pachhala Someswara and Yadagiri temples in Nalgonda, Vemulawada and Kaleswaram in Karimnagar, Ramalayam in Bhadrachalam etc. They are known for their art and architecture. There are also several centres of folk and tribal festivals like Sammakka Jatara in Mulugu region, Kotthakonda Jathara in Karimnagar, Iloni Jathara in Warangal, Kommala Lakshmi Narasimha Jathara in Warangal. There are several Sufi-shrines like Darga Kazipet in Warangal, Annaram Sheriff in Warangal, Jan Pahad Saidule in Nalgonda district. There are also some important Christian Churches in Telangana. The Medak Church is one of the largest churches in Asia and Catholic Church in Kazipet, American Baptist Church in Hanamakonda are very famous.

In Andhra Pradesh state the pilgrim centres like Thirumala Thirupathi, Kani pakam, Gudimallam, Srikalahasti, Simhachalam, Arasavelli, Annavaram Temple, Antharvedi, Draksharamam, Amaravathi temples are very famous and attracting lakhs of pilgrims every year. There are several historical forts such as Kondapally, Gandikota, Chandragiri, Bobbili, Vijaya Nagaram, Kurnool etc. Muslim Masjid in Kadapa is very popular among Muslims, Gunadala Matha Church (Vijayawada) is an international popular Christian pilgrim centre.

Kuchipudi dance of Andhradesa has become very famous classical dance form of Telugu people. The Nirmal Toys, Paintings, Kondapalli, Toys, Aetikoppaka wooden toys are world famous. The Pembarthi Brass Sheet Metal art items in Warangal, Karimnagar Silver Filigree, Pochempalli, Venkatagiri, Darmavaram Sarees, Machilipatnam Kalankaari Sarees are world famous.

Thus, India is very rich in natural resources. Its geo-physical features and locations are very fascinating which can be developed as eco- tourism and natural heritage centres. The hills, mountains, forests, flora and fauna, rivers, lakes, the sea shores and Islands can be developed into Tourism Centres, Pilgrimage Tourism, heritage tourism, cultural tourism is very popular in Indian society. The governments have been promoting Domestic Tourism to a great extent. In recent times, the Central Government and state governments have also been promoting Business Tourism and MICE Tourism in the important cities like Hyderabad in Telangana, Visaka Patnam in Andhra Pradesh. These centres have become international convention centres.

The Governments are also encouraging private sector in Tourism Industry for the development of infrastructural facilities in different fields like Hotel Industry Transportation etc. In order to promote tourism industry, there is a need to improve connectivity, communication and transport facilities in this Era of Globalisation. Recently, the Government has launched several schemes to boost our economy and particularly Tourism Industry. E-Visa system, Visa on Arrival, Open Sky Policy Private Airlines, Private Railways, and Yatra Dharshan, Hill Railways in Ooty, Darjeeling, Cruise Liners on the Seas, Food Festivals, Rural Tourism Projects, Tribal Tourism Projects, Tourism Circuits, Home Stays, Night Life etc have been launched in different states to promote tourism in our country. The development of Tourism would help expansion of infrastructural facilities even in remote areas. The youth, women, both skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled can also be given employment opportunities in accommodation and transportation fields. Foreign Exchange can also be earned through the promotion of Tourism.

Though, Tourism Industry helps to promote economic development, there are certain challenges to be tackled carefully. There would be a problem of increasing pollution because of the heavy flow of tourists to a particular tourist destination beyond its Carrying Capacity. There is also a risk of growing crime rate and law and order problem due to the visit of irresponsible people as tourists in a destination. The promotion of Tourism is supposed to be Eco- Friendly and the principle of Sustainable Development should be kept in mind, while developing Tourism Destinations. Necessary awareness is to be prompted among the people on Tourism for the Protection and Conservation of Natural Resources, Heritage and Cultural Centres.

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Prospects of Cemetery Tourism in Kerala and Dutch Cemeteries

A. S. Vysakh & Saroop Roy B. R

Cemetery Tourism:

Cemeteries have become a product of special interest tourism in recent days with many countries promoting memorials, cemeteries, graveyards to attract tourists to trace roots or pay homage to their heroes. This can also be considered as tourism that falls under the category of dark tourism associated with tourists visiting places associated with death and disaster. Many families can trace their ancestors who were buried in a land far from their home. Cemeteries have also become an attraction based on its cultural and heritage value. Cemeteries contain attractive and sometimes unusual tombs, grave stones and architecture which are linked to the culture and heritage of the country. The ancient graveyards also used arts and symbols on older tombs and graves which have a cryptic or hidden meaning. These symbols are different and vary from countries to countries and tourists may get the opportunity to interpret and understand these symbols to identify facts and stories about the buried person. An interpretative guiding tour or programme could be developed as part of the cemetery tourism. The interpretative programme may include gravestone art/ designs, gravestone carvers and masons, historical past of the communities, social stories and conflict, funeral practices etc. While doing such interpretative packages, prior permissions need to be taken from the authorities of the cemetery, assessment of how many people could be accommodated at a time and special care should be taken that the programme does not make conflicts with the local community as the place have strong emotional ties.

Although cemetery tourism is common in many foreign countries, it is not that popular in India. But tombs of ancient rulers have been developed as monuments with exotic gardens and parks which attract many domestic and international tourists. Couple of years back, the Uttarakhand Tourism Development Board announced Cemetery tourism by naming "Know Your Roots" and started data collection about graves of renowned people from across the world who made their home in the hills and died there. It is estimated that thousands of British citizens lived in the state before independence and the graves of many prominent personalities like John Lang, who was the lawyer of Rani Laxmi Bai, eccentric entrepreneur 'Pahari' Wilson and his Garhwali wife. The Department also started making efforts to contact the descendants of these people, history lovers and foreign tourists who visit these graves (Vasudevan, Vijayakumar and Roy, 2017).

The advent of Cemetery Tourism in Kerala could be attributed to the tomb of Eleanor Isabel May, an Englishwoman, located in the cemetery of CSI Christ Church in Old Munnar who died at the age of 24 in 1894. The tomb was built by her loving husband Henry Knight. Interestingly, people belonging to the present generation of Eleanor's family regularly visit the tomb even now (Rajesh, 2019).

The tombs of major personalities like St. Alphonsa at Bharananganam in Kottayam, Pazhassi Raja at Mananthavady in Wayanad, are places which attract a large number of tourists. Even the largest Jewish Cemetery in India is located at Mala in Thrissur district of Kerala. (Asia Times, 2017) Kerala is also famous for prehistoric megalithic monuments relating to burials. These megalithic monuments could be classified as follows (Varghese, 2019):

1. Surface makers which include:

- a. Dolmens made of granite slabs arranged in a square or rectangular shape with a capstone above the ground as seen at Vellarkodu in Palakkad,
- b. Cists which architectural variant of dolmens with most of the structure under the ground
- c. Dolmenoid cists which are subtype of dolmens where the structure is partially buried.
- d. Menhirs, which are monolithic slabs made of granite or laterite located in Anakkara in Palakkad district, Kuthukal in Malappuram district
- e. Kudakkal, which are mushroom shaped with an umbrella like granite stone supported by stone blocks erected in slanting position seen at Cheramanangad and Ariyannur in Thrissur district, Thavanur in Malappuram district
- f. Topikkal, which are hemispherical laterite stones that are used a lid on a burial urn like the ones at Cheramanangad in Thrissur district
- g. Pathikkal, which are dressed blocks of laterite arranged in the shape of snake's hood seen at Cheramanangad in Thrissur district
- h. Stone Circles, which are made of dressed or undressed granite and laterite stones arranged in the form of single or multiple circles to mark the location of burial sites as found in Anakkara in Palakkad district

- i. Cairns, which are circular packing of rubble associated with stone circle marking of burial site

2. Subterranean features which include:

- a. Rock - cut caves, which are subterranean caves made of laterite that have single or multiple chambers as seen in Eramam in Kannur district, Eyyal, Kakkad, Kattakambal and Kandanasserry in Thrissur district (Thankappan, 2018)
- b. Urns, which are pear shaped jars that are buried inside a pit along with burial goods as seen in Anakkara in Palakkad district
- c. Sarcophagus, which are legged coffins made of terracotta.

The prospects of Cemetery Tourism with reference to Dutch Cemeteries has to be viewed in the context of immense potential and resources the state of Kerala possess in promoting cemetery tourism generally in the state as discussed above. The following section looks at the political scenario in which the Dutch established the power in Kerala, their religious policies and finally the resources for Dutch cemetery tourism in the state.

The Political Scenario:

The Dutch East India Company, invariably called the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or the VOC was formed in 1592, initiated the earlier policies of Dutch Imperialism. The Portuguese trade monopoly was challenged by the Dutch, the latter being the first Protestant nation of Europe to establish trade contacts with Kerala. The foremost aim of the Dutch in Malabar was the procurement of pepper monopoly (Poonen, 1948). The Dutch period in Kerala actually begins with the capture of Cochin from the Portuguese in 1663. Earlier, Dutchmen had discretely visited Kerala coast and explored possibilities of trade. On 11 November 1604, Dutch Admiral Steven Van Der Hagen resolved an accord with the Zamorin of Calicut, and is hailed as the first political contract between the Dutch and an Indian power.

Eventually the Dutch turned their attention from North Kerala and entered into agreements with minor powers in Central Kerala such as Chempakassei (Purakkad), and Kayamkulam on commercial transactions in 1642-1643. The basic policy of the Dutch was to have closest relations with the smallest powers.

The Dutch envisioned the dream of substituting the already waning Portuguese as the major European power and filling in the political vacuum in Kerala. The Dutch, under Admiral Van Goens captured the Portuguese fortresses of Quilon in 1658. A treaty was entered with the Queen of Quilon on January 7, 1659,

under which the town of Quilon and the Portuguese gardens and grounds were surrendered to the Dutch. The treaty secured the exclusive monopoly of trade in spices at Quilon for the Dutch. In December 1661, Quilon was recaptured by another expedition under Van Goens as the Portuguese retaliated. The Dutch reduced the extensive St. Thomas Fort at Quilon into a considerable area. The Dutch thereafter entered into separate treaties with Quilon and the powerful state of Travancore in March 1662, which repeated the provisions of the treaty of 1659. It also prescribed the arrangements for the administration of law and order in Quilon town, which had a cultural impact upon the latter's society.

Cochin was captured in 1663 and it set firm the foundations of Dutch power in Kerala. The in-house discords in the Cochin Royal family provided the pretext for Dutch intervention. The Dutch intervened actively in the politics of Cochin on invitation from the Mutta Thavazhi (Elder Branch) against the Ilaya Thavazhi (Younger Branch) which was supported by the Portuguese. The Dutch captured the Pullipuram Fort from the Portuguese in 1661. Further the reigning king, princess and minister were killed and the Rani was taken prisoner by Henrik Van Rheede. The siege of Cochin fort lasted for two months in spite of stiff resistance by the Portuguese and ultimately on January 6, 1663, Cochin fell to the Dutch. The Dutch installed Vira Kerala Varma of the Mutta Thavazhi as the ruler of Cochin and concluded a formal treaty with him. The Cochin King accepted the Dutch suzerainty and entered into an agreement to deliver all spices produced in his kingdom. Moreover, all the Christians living in Cochin and coastal areas were placed under Dutch protection as per the treaty.

The Dutch further followed the policy of annexation and intervening in the affairs of Cochin, Cannanore and Zamorin at interims. The rulers of Purakkad, Vadakkumkur, Parur, Alangad and Edapalli entered into treaties with the Dutch in 1663. The Dutch captured the Cannanore fort from the Portuguese in February 1663. The town of Cannanore (Kannur) was transferred by the Kolathiri to the Dutch. In 1664, the Dutch entered into treaties with the Ali Raja of Cannanore on trade. Captain Nieuhoff, the Dutch Ambassador visited the various rulers in south and central Kerala in 1664 and strengthened the Dutch suzerainty. The rulers of Kayamkulam, Purakkad, Marta and Quilon concluded treaties with Nieuhoff in 1664 on Dutch monopoly of pepper and trade in their dominions.

In 1678, Henrick Van Rheede landed as Commander of Cochin and this was a turningpoint in the colonial history of the Dutch. He evolved a definite policy of bringing the local powers under the effective political control of the Dutch. The Cochin rulers

were made subordinate to Dutch receiving an annual maintenance allowance. By the treaty of 1678, the position Cochin Raja was reduced to be a puppet. The Prime Ministership of Cochin was bestowed upon a nominee of the Dutch Company. Further the war of Vettam and Chettuvai reinforced the power of Dutch. The Dutch built a fort at Chettuvai in 1714. The Dutch, hereafter, followed a deliberate policy of intervention in the affairs of the minor kingdoms with a view to establish their predominant influence on the Kerala coast. Meanwhile, the resistances of the Zamorin of Calicut and his plan to form an all Kerala confederacy against the Dutch and their allies, the attack of Bednore Nayaks in the Kolathiri's principality and the threat of growing British power toppled the Dutch desire for a smooth annexation of Kerala. However, the Dutch devices were dismayed by the escalation and extension of Travancore under Anizham Tirunal Marthanda Varma.

Marthanda Varma in his tread for expansion of Travancore annexed the important Dutch establishments at Quilon, Marta, Kayamkulam and Purakkad and weakened the Dutch position. It received its final blow from Marthanda Varma of Travancore at the Battle of Colachel on 10th August 1741. (Dutch Manuscripts No.310,1741) Many Europeans were captured as prisoners, the most illustrious among them being D' Lannoy who was later made the Commander of Marthanda Varma's army. The Travancore army laid siege to the Dutch Fort and appropriated 389 muskets, canons and swords. (Mathilakom Records, Curuna 88, Ola, 42) In 1748, the Dutch entered into a conciliatory agreement with Travancore under which they undertook not to disturb the English factories of Anjengo, Vizhinjam and Edava in Travancore and also promised to extend support to the Raja in the event of attack from any other European power. The consequential clause of the treaty was that the Dutch had to remain neutral in the internal wars among the kingdoms and the provisions of this humiliation disarming the former was encapsulated in the Treaty of Mavelikkara in 1753. This event marked the complete embarrassment of the Dutch and their veiling as a political power in Kerala.

Religious policy of Dutch in Kerala:

The religious policy of the Dutch was on the whole liberal and tolerant unlike that of the Portuguese. The Dutch expelled the Catholic priests from Cochin and suburbs and pulled down the Jesuit Library and churches are the acts of religious excesses in their initial years. But, soon after initial outbursts of religious intolerance, the Dutch reversed their attitude and thereafter followed an enlightened policy of religious toleration. The Jesuits and other European Catholic missionaries who were expelled were

allowed to return and carry on their activities. The Carmalites were permitted to build a church at Chathiath in Ernakulam in 1673 and also a church at Verapoly (Varapuzha). In 1678 the Carmalites also founded a great seminary at Verapoly which later developed into the St. Joseph's Pontifical Seminary, Aluva.

The Dutch also took the native Christians including the Latin Catholics under their protection. The Dutch also supported the Syrian Christians to obtain new Bishops from Syria to retain their independence. The Dutch invariably showed respect for the sentiments of the Hindu population. The Dutch administration in Kerala maintained an ecclesiastical establishment for the sake of their reformed Protestant religion; but it made hardly any impact on the local Christian community and even they did not seem to have made any serious attempt to get recruits to this creed.

The religious - cultural impact of the Dutch is largely in oblivion. Other than the fortresses and travelogues, material evidence of Dutch in Kerala exists as lesser known memorabilia in the still sleepy and crumbling graveyards in the erstwhile places of Dutch influence.

Dutch Tombs and Cemeteries:

Although not situated in Kerala now, the tomb of D' Lannoy at the Udayagiri Fort at Puliyoorkurichi on the Thiruvananthapuram -Nagercoil National Highway in Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu could be historically placed under Kerala. The Dutch Cemeteries are located at Thangasseri in Kollam district and Fort Kochi in Ernakulam district. The Saint Angelo Fort at Kannur also has Dutch gravestones of historic importance.

Tomb of D' Lannoy:

Eustache de Lannoy was one of the captives of the Battle of Colachel in which Marthanda Varma of Travancore defeated the Dutch in 1741. Marthanda Varma appointed D' Lannoy initially as the Commander of the palace guard in Padmanabhapuram and became popularly known as 'Valia Kappittan or Great Captain'. He was entrusted by the Maharaja with the task of reorganising and training the Travancore army in European lines which enabled Travancore's sounding victory in the war for expansion. Further, he was charged with the renovation of the Udayagiri Fort. On rebuilding the fort, it was accommodated with a complete European city with a European garrison in the service of Travancore (Bartolomeo, 1800). D' Lannoy was made commander of the fort. He was a devout Christian and obtained the Maharaja's permission to build a Roman Catholic Church in the Udayagiri fort at his own expense

(earlier part of Travancore's Nanjinadu) and sanctioned monthly pay of 100 *panams* to the incumbent vicar. (Agur, 1990) After MarthandaVarma's death, Karthika Tirunal Rama Varma become the ruler and he appointed D' Lannoy as Commander - in - Chief of the whole Travancore army (Aiya, 1906). D' Lannoy was charged with construction of a large fortified wall called the 'Nedumkotta' or the Travancore Lines which was aimed to anticipate future invasions from the Zamorin. Interestingly, the Travancore Lines hindered the advance of the Troops of Tippu Sultan of Mysore upon Travancore.

In 1745, D' Lannoy married Margaret, the daughter of a British interpreter at Anjengo. On September 14th 1765, at the age of 20 years the only son of D' Lannoy, Joannes was killed in the battle of Kalakkad (Ayyar, 1927). In the Chapel inside the Udayagiri fort his son was interred. D' Lannoy breathed his last on 1st June 1777. He was buried in the church inside the fort where Captain Everette and other Christians who had rendered distinguished service to the Maharaja of Travancore had been buried (Agur, 1990). In memory of his military exploits, all the weapons used by him were kept around his grave and a tomb was erected over the tomb (Political File No.43, 1920). Apart from the Latin and Tamil inscriptions was decorated with his coat-of-arms (consisting of a cross which was the blazon of two different families of D' Lannoy in France) and several musical instruments. Five years later his wife Margaret died and was interred beside her husband (Kusuman, 1986).

The Dutch Cemetery, Kollam:

The remnants of a rich colonial past still linger in the cultural life of Kollam, the invigorating ancient port town in Kerala. These monumental treasures in the form of the Dutch/Portuguese cemetery remain untapped, calling for its liberation from the shackles of neglect. Other than the Fort at Tangassery, the colonial period graveyard with its innumerable ruined graves still bearing colonial architectural impressions are of high historical antiquity. However, these vestiges of the past are in grave neglect and are susceptible to encroachments.

The cemetery adjacent to the Church at Tangassery carries in itself a prolonged history of the Colonial administration in Kollam. It silently revokes the influential stint of the foreigners in the soil with its deep rooted cultural impact. The Dutch Cemetery, earlier known as the Portuguese Cemetery for in it was buried both the Portuguese and the Dutch men, belonged to the sixteenth century. The cemetery in its structural patterns resembles the one at Cochin. Typically European, made of bricks and lime plaster, it encompasses marvelous pillared columns etched with Geometric designs. The tombs once possessed inscribed memorabilia.

The tombs were intact until a decade ago. But for the later years the region including the cemetery was encroached and occupied by landless inhabitants. Excessive encroachment led to massive destruction of the tombs and its structures. Presently, the scene is pathetic. Walking along the Old Dutch cemetery, one could watch women thrashing their laundry on the ornately carved tombstones. Engulfed by thick wild creepers, the pillars started crumbling, while others removed of its plasters. Some large graves have transformed to walls for toilets. The not much affected ones (tombs) await its turn for a silent death.

The Dutch Cemetery at Fort Kochi, Ernakulam:

The legacy of the Dutch Cemetery in Fort Kochi showcases certain historical vagaries of our colonial past. Being the oldest European cemetery in India consecrated in 1724, it is a revealing aide-mémoire of Dutch lives lost in the pursuit for trade and expansion. Each tombstone has a tale of historic past, of pride, of power. The Dutch or Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie treaded on the shores of Cochin in 1663 by capturing it from the Portuguese. However in 1795, the English seized the fort from the Dutch. The hospital and cemetery belonging to the Portuguese situated on the west of the Parade Ground (Bernard, 1995). The taboo associated with Catholics prompted the Dutch to erect a separate cemetery exclusively for the latter and was sited between the Lighthouse and Bank House in Cochin. It is built in Dutch architectural style and the year of its consecration is engraved on the entrance pillar. The 104 tombs suffice evidences of the then Dutch governors, officials, commanders, men, ladies and children who passed away in Cochin. Many of the tombs are made of granite and red laterite and have no cross. The inscriptions on the tombs are in the Dutch script. The last person to be buried as per records in the St. Francis CSI Church (which currently manages the cemetery) was Captain Joseph Ethelbert Winckler who was interred in 1913.

Lawson in 1860 has described the cemetery being a trifling square plot enclosed with high walls. The tombs having flat, dome and pyramid shaped, occasionally diversified by broken pillars enfolded with wild swards and tiny orange flowers (Lawson, 2001). The situation of the cemetery is same as two decades ago; the tombs are overrun by wild growth, and the thick walls plead for a whitewash.

Saint Angelo Fort, Kannur:

The major remnant of colonial era of North Malabar is the St. Angelo Fort, jutting out into the sea like a bird's beak. The Dutch VOC captured the Saint Angelo Fort on 13th February 1663,

originally erected by the Portuguese. The Dutch were assisted by the Ali Raja of Cannanore (Kannur) in the campaign against the Portuguese and the latter was befitted in gratitude by associating him as their major trading partner and they jointly signed 'an alliance of mutual protection'. In 1771, during the final days of the VOC on the Malabar Coast, the Dutch sold the fort for one hundred thousand rupiahs (one lakh) to Ali Raja. However, the Ali Rajas only possessed the Saint Angelo Fort for a short time. As early as 1790 it was conquered by the English, who turned it into their most important garrison on the Malabar Coast.

The only Dutch gravestone to have been preserved stands on the ramparts between the Holland Bastion and the Zeeland Bastion inside the Fort. This stone was bricked into the rampart wall and is inscribed 'here rest the mortal remains of the spouse of Master Godefridus Weijerman, Susanna Geertruyda Pfeiffer, died in labor when delivering a dead son. Weijerman was Chief of Kannur and he would later become Commander of Malabar (1761-1764). Susanne Pfeiffer died at the age of seventeen in 1745. The epitaph also states that two children from a previous marriage of Weijerman are buried on either side of this sarcophagus, but these gravestones are missing. The then Company Garden cemetery is mentioned in an old sketch is about five hundred meters from the fort and still in use. The western section of it has the oldest of the graves, mostly dating to the English period (Van der Pol, n.d.).

Conclusion:

The potential for developing packages on Cemetery Tourism has to be viewed in the context of placing Kerala as a destination for attracting tourists to study the various prehistoric megalithic monuments related to burials as well as a destination for tourists from the colonial powers in the past to trace their roots and pay homage. The state which has popularised and innovated new tourism products could consider taking steps on designing products and packages related to cemetery tourism. Separate packages could be developed for visiting the prehistoric megalithic monuments related to burials and Dutch graveyards. The first step towards this is the conservation of these cultural resources related to graveyards as many of them have already gone through the rampages either by neglect or planned attempt by authorities to convert these areas for other development purposes. Other aspects include making a list of important personalities buried in these graveyards, identification of gravestone art, different practices performed during the funeral functions etc. This would help in developing narratives highlighting the historic importance of monuments, personalities, specialities of different burial places, burial practices highlighting the burial goods and urns etc. Efforts

could also be made to identify the next generation family members of the gravestone carvers of these existing monuments and develop them as interpretive guides to narrate these stories to the tourists while developing packages. The state practising responsible tourism could there by ensures the triple bottom line of economic, socio-cultural and environmental responsibilities while developing cemetery tourism packages.

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**A Study on the New Avenues of Sustainable Rural Tourism
Development: An Insight of Rural Community and
Livelihood Development of Aurangabad**

Saurabh Krishna

1) Introduction:

Rural tourism represents the visit to countryside destinations which are generally away from the urban places and far from the hustle and bustle of the city life. In the recent years rural tourism development has been receiving much consideration and has proved to be a major source for the income and employment generation particularly for the rural community (Goodwin, 2009). India is the ideal place for the development of rural tourism, it should be considered as a tourist's paradise, and it's a magnum of numerous geography and cultures offering around 32 World Heritage sites, 25 bio-geographical zones and attractive beaches (Ministry of Tourism Report, 2014). India is a country which has around 74 percent of its population residing in the rural areas and we must consider rural tourism as a blessings for the country like India. Rural tourism is a powerful tool which is highly beneficial for the socio-economic, environmental and cultural development (Kulkarni, 2010).

In the process of rural tourism development the role of community cannot be ignored, Community participation can be seen as a process wherein the residents of a community are given a voice and a choice to take part in troubles affecting their lives. Whether a community participates or not is determined with the aid of a selection of elements.

One of the factors that restrict their participation is lack of agree with among contributors (Sharpley, 2006). Community participation can consequently be enhanced by means of addressing limitations to participation at the same time as at the identical time taking the essential steps to promote the ideas of sustainable participation. The effective community participation makes the development of rural tourism more feasible and provides a definite path for the development of local area, it also contributes in the sustainable development of the rural destinations. The present study aims to highlight about the significance of sustainable rural tourism development in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra.

The present work also attempts to highlight the significance of healthy relations between the government and private players in the rural areas of Aurangabad. The study also discloses how rural tourism has increased the awareness about sustainability in

the rural areas and how it can work as a tool for giving new dimensions to the human resource or the rural talents of Aurangabad.

2) Rural Tourism:

It has always been highlighted that agriculture, barren land, forest areas, grassland and empty places were the center of rural life, especially when it comes to the Indian rural life. The agriculture had been only the medium and source of living for the rural people of India. Rural India has many matters to provide the prosperous traditions of arts, crafts and culture attracts a large quantity of vacationers from throughout the world (Mohanty, 2014). No doubt looking at the sources and the rich heritage, India can emerge as a necessary rural tourists destinations of the world. If the thought of Rural Tourism is promoted strategically no doubt it will attract huge a range of home and foreign tourists in particular the ones who have a craze for information about usual methods of living, arts and crafts and at the identical time it will have a vast have an effect on the community development and livelihood.

No doubt rural tourism works as a comprehensive tool for developing the rural areas, generating employment opportunities and offering enhanced lifestyle while presenting the rich tradition and the authentic lifestyle of the rural areas of Aurangabad (Upadhye,2015).

The rural development also proves to be a predominant contributing thing for the rural livelihood and neighborhood development. Sharma and Tiwari, (2014) found that the overall increase in the tourism at a particular rural destination increases the possibility of the communities development and active participation. The fundamental goal in the back of promotion sustainable rural tourism is to increase the supply of income for the rural areas as well to extend the energetic participation of the host community (Sharma & Tiwary, 2014). Rural tourism is very hard to define, as it appears easy in its strategy but it has many complexities which makes the rural concept very challenging and complex (Darko, et al, 2011).

Kulkarni (2015) argued that tourism has always been very important tools for generating employment for rural youths it also offers an enhanced business opportunities for women also at the rural level which contributes in the overall development of economic livelihood in that particular area. Furthermore if we see the other types such as sustainable tourism, community based tourism, rural tourism and eco- tourism, we understand that each of these tourism types have similar objectives to achieve, such as protecting the cultural heritage, natural heritage and improving

the socio- economic welfare of the communities (Jones, 2008). argues that now a days eco- tourism, rural and community based tourism are considered as a well-established market segment as well as a bigger sector for the tourism development, which needs to be appropriately and effectively planned and managed well for both the host and guest community. The development of rural destination is a very sensitive journey which demands a high level of commitment, desire to serve the local product, involvement of host community and a sense of extreme pride in their local culture and rituals (Anderson & Wickens, 2014). However talking about the rural tourism development in the Aurangabad, we take a reference of initiatives taken by the Ministry of Tourism in the year 2002-03 and the main objective was to highlight and promote the rural heritage, culture, traditions, lifestyle, local artwork, silk/ textile work at the international level (Ministry of Tourism, Report, 2005). There are many regions in Maharashtra especially in the Baramati, Pune and Sindhudurg district which are known for their rural tourism product and services (Upadhye, 2015). Aurangabad is known as the tourism capital of Maharashtra which has many tourism attractions, varying from heritage sites to the pilgrimage centers, eco-tourism, and adventure tourism. Rural tourism in the newest addition of the tourism development in the rural areas of Aurangabad, which is witnessing a huge demand and sharp increase in the movement of tourists who want to experience the basic and the rural lifestyle.

2.1) Sustainable Rural Tourism:

There has been a substantial growth and development in the recent past in many parts of Indian subcontinent, as tourism development has been accepted as an economic activity which has direct/indirect impact on the rural community. Rural sustainability however focuses majorly on the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects and guides the sustainable planning of the destination in the rural areas.

However it has additionally been highlighted that the rural sustainability must make:

- a) The optimal use of the rural surroundings resources.
- b) Respect the socio- cultural authenticity of the host communities.
- c) To make certain the financial viability of long time period operations,
- d) To ensure the socio-economic benefits to all the stakeholders which also results in secure employment, income era opportunities for the youth, social offerings and eventually poverty alleviations.



(Source, Dann, 2004)

There is less amount of research work done on the HR component of the rural tourism, the research areas like the benefits of rural tourism employment, new avenues and opportunities demands more attention and research work (Weiler and Hall, 1992). (Kulkarni, 2015) argued that tourism has usually been very essential tools for producing employment for rural youths and women, consequently rural population may also pick out that tourism offers these few viable, first rate and as a consequence applicable opportunities for economic livelihood.

2.2) Community Participation:

Community participation usually mean the active involvement of local people or the community with the authorities in making plans for development. Without participation, there's obviously no partnership, no improvement and no program. Rural Community participation increases people's sense of control over issues that affect their lives and also promotes self-confidence and self-awareness (Baum, 2006). Rural Community participation can be highlighted as a democratic system and procedure to enable community members to become actively involved and to take responsibility for their own development, and share the benefits equally among the community members (Reed, 1997). Rural network cooperation usually gives a feeling of network to assume liability for oneself as well as other people, and an availability to share and interface. Rural business enterprise has the potential to bring many advantages to an area destination, exaggerated business enterprise development can even have the alternative effects as a result of "tourism is an agent of change" (Beeton, 2006). However, once managed rigorously, it may be a 'power for

good', and may facilitate to alleviate poorness (Beeton, 2006). (Weaver and town 2010) justify that the economic impact of rural tourism expenditure on a destination is unlikely to finish once the tourist cash has been received directly by the provider of an advertisement tourist product. It's seemingly that indirect revenue continues to be generated by the continued circulation of those expenditures among the stakeholders. In the Aurangabad district the contribution of the rural community has played a major role for the development and the growth of rural tourism. The major stakeholders such as the owners of the rural resorts, tourism officials, local administrative, gram panchayat, gram sevak and the local villages form a strong business group which works very closely for the development, marketing and the operation of the rural enterprises.

The rural business enterprise multiplier factor plays an important role for the economic benefits of the rural destination. The term 'multiplier' refers to "the quantitative relation of the modification in one among the variables to the change in final demand that it brought about" (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 109). The scale of multiplier factor is predicated on the proportion of extra financial gain spent among the region; because the multiplier becomes bigger, it implies that less cash leaves the economy as leakages (Hall, 2003). The rural economy can only benefit if we minimize the leakage at all level, this can be achieved only with the major involvement of the local community for the decision making and the operations. In the recent years Aurangabad has seen a major involvement of the local community which has reduced the leakage at the local level and the increased benefits for the rural community.

Community participation also opens the path for the sustainable development and the increased participation of the local community and the service providers. In the Aurangabad districts the local community has participated on a larger scale for the major projects such as plantation, water harvesting, and cleanliness drive. The local administration and the DRDA (District Rural Development Authority) has also played a major role for bring the local community and the tourism stakeholders on a common platform, which has resulted in the growth and development of the rural economy and the tourism business.

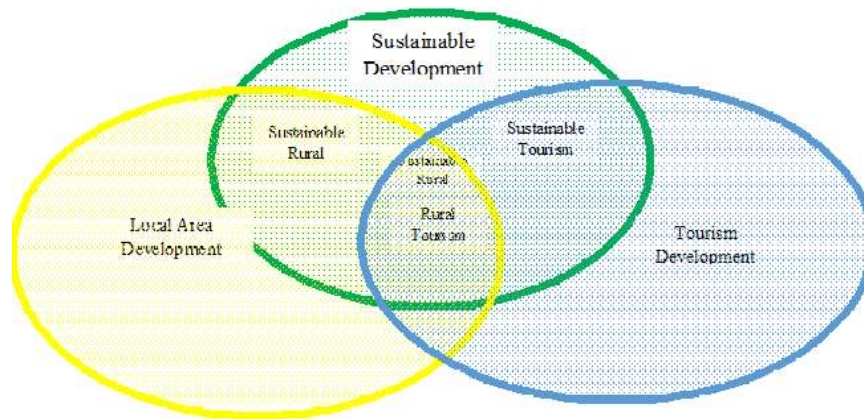
(Wall & Newsome 2006) noted that 3 main varieties of employment are created as a results of the presence of rural business enterprise in an exceedingly destination economy: direct, indirect, and evoked. Direct employment refers to employment created among rural business enterprise businesses that sell product and services on to tourists, like rural resorts, small food outlets and locally based transportation. Indirect employment is extra jobs generated by the requirement to extend the rural

service and physical infrastructure of a locality to support rural business enterprise and also the tourism trade, like building and retail sales. The present study focuses more upon the enquiry of how rural tourism is serving as a tool for the rural community of Aurangabad and the list of benefits which the local community gets out of their involvement with the rural tourism.

2.3) Rural Tourism Vs Sustainable Rural Tourism:

Rural tourism and the development of sustainable rural tourism has often being discussed on the same parameter, having said that there exists a major differences and the similarities when it comes to the growth and development of rural areas. The rural tourism must be seen as an alternative to the many other types of tourisms. The Indian rural life is seen as a complete package of fresh and clean air, rural lifestyle and traditional activities, rural arts, handicrafts, folksongs and dance, organic food and local cuisine (Joshi, 2011 & Upadhye, 2015). Furthermore (Pagdhare, 2011 & Wiggins, 2001 & Barron, 2008) highlighted some of the major activities of the rural tourism which are local sports, Ayurveda and health care, nature tourism, cultural tourism, village walk, adventure tourism, rural recreational areas and parks, which offers many opportunities for the development and rapid growth of the rural destinations). So rural tourism operators must pay more attention to the way people think, sense and behave than they have achieved hitherto. However when we talk about the Sustainable rural tourism it's important for us to focus on the word "Sustainable", the word is very broad and encompasses the management, conservation, and the utilization of resources in a systematic and sensible manner for the growth and development of any tourism product without altering the natural identity of the tourism product (Butler, 2009). Even (Lane, 1996) had highlighted and presented a major difference between the rural tourism and the sustainable rural tourism is by highlighting the sustainable tourism strategies as a method to achieve two major objectives i.e. development and conservation in the rural areas. Sustainable rural tourism also works with a major focus on the sustaining the other elements and components of tourism i.e. economic sustainability, social sustainability, environmental sustainability & cultural sustainability, it also works towards enhancing the wellbeing of the local community and their sustainable livelihood. Sustainable rural tourism is also more powerful than rural tourism as it has a huge potentiality to assist the rural community in securing their economic viability and many operational related activities which eventually helps in maintain the special and unique qualities of the rural areas. (Sharpley, 2001). Hence it can be understood that rural tourism and sustainable rural tourism holds a unique and distinctive capability and

potentiality to develop any rural destination, but sustainability plays a bigger role as sustainable planning, and sustainable development is the new mantra for the upcoming rural destinations especially in the case of Aurangabad.



(Source: Sharpley, 1997)

3) Research Methodology:

The present study is exploratory and endorses the qualitative approach of primary research methodology (Malhotra, 2008; Dworkin, 2012). The qualitative aspect of the survey surfaces with the exploration and interpretation of the perceptions of different stakeholders. (Bernard, 2000; Morse, 2000; Dworkin, 2012). Based on the research questions and purpose, the study has been designed in order to acquire information from multiple stakeholders of the rural tourism from Aurangabad including the rural community which is involved in the tourism development.

However, the population of the study is not only confined to the service providers of the rural tourism products, the local leaders, gram sevaks and the tourists were also the part of data collection, further by taking two agri farm resorts namely Hiranaya Resorts and Shrutiagri farm resort. The total sample for the study was 21 which included 6 owners and the GMs of the agri farm, a sample of 8 tourists and 2 sets of FGD having 6 members in each group. The service providers include the rural resorts and agri-farms. The total number of local active leaders and the volunteers were 5 as many of them were not comfortable in discussing and disclosing their role and participation. The data is analyzed with a prime view of retaining the participant's responses (owners, local leaders, tourists, villagers and the employees of the resorts). In the detailed process of developing the themes, sub-themes and major

themes, the researcher immersed himself in the qualitative data thereby identifying emergent categories and the different patterns. During the process the linkages between patterns and the different categories were applied to develop the sub-themes, further the researcher tried to group the sub-themes together which held together in a meaningful but in a distinct way, later those themes which merged together in a coherent yet unique manner were furthered grouped as a major themes (Cresswell, 2002). Later the convergence in the respondent's viewpoints, experience, and story were often linked to their prime role, responsibility and the level of participation. Sources triangulation and member checks ensured a methodological detailing and in depth process. The researcher has also recorded and interpreted the data based on the research objective. The respondents have been assured that the information furnished would be dealt with confidentiality, and the personal information would not be revealed about the respondents. Moreover, to establish the trustworthiness of the qualitative research, the terms credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability and confirm ability have been used as the equivalent for internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity of the data (Creswell, 2007; Schwandt *et al.*, 2007).

Research Questions:

RQ 1: What are the different factors which contribute for the development of the rural tourism and livelihood development?

RQ 2: What are the different strategies used for the sustainable planning of a rural destination?

Research Objectives:

The research paper has following objectives to explore and investigate:

To examine the contribution of Sustainable rural tourism for the socio economic development of the study area.

To assess the development of Sustainable rural tourism for improved livelihood and community participation.

4) Results and Discussion:

For the current study the universe which was selected was Aurangabad and most of the respondents were between the ages of 20 – 50 years old. Many of them had refused to participate in the study, also when we talk about the gender division the ratio was of 80:10 the researcher came across that very few women workers were employed and few of them were not confident to take part in the survey. While 85 percent of the respondents had a very low income and salary structure 10% had a moderate and

around 5 percent had a relatively higher income. The researcher also found around 32 percent of the employees were from different states mainly from Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Bihar & Bengal while 72 percent of the other employees were from Maharashtra and neighboring states and most of them were working for the last 10-15 years, which simply indicates the lower rate of attrition of the employees. Among all the employees the researcher found a strong sense of attachment, belongingness and empowerment which could be seen with higher level of motivation and commitments for both Hiranaya and Shruti farm. Education level, formal training, lack of technical knowledge and professionals were few issues, however language also was a big hurdle as most of them were fluent in Marathi. The researcher received a good support from the local community members and the local administrative, the community members came forward to discuss and exchange their views about the benefits of rural tourism for their livelihood development and growth of the rural areas.

4.1) Rural tourism and its major contributions:

a) Job retention:

Occupation maintenances can be of great help by the rural tourism industry especially when it comes to the administrations, for example, rural based cottage industry, retailing, transport, neighbourliness and clinical consideration. No doubt it can also extend some extra source of income to the local farmers, and it has been found many farmers in the rural areas close to Hiranaya and Shruti farms many farmers have benefited from the small scale business. Job retention focuses on the micro rural communities and works towards the survival for these enterprises especially in the area of Aurangabad, it has been found that the industry have archived the job of the travel industry in work maintenance.

b) Job creation:

In the Aurangabad district rural tourism has been a major contributor for the job creation at the rural areas. The rural resorts have been the major job providers and the job creators in the local areas of the Khultabad and Daultabad. Occupation creation for the most part happen in the lodging and providing food exchanges, however can likewise occur in transport, retailing, and in data/legacy translation. Studies in other parts of Maharashtra recommend that activity creation differs by big business type and the small one, also the scale and length of business operations at the rural areas also vary.

c) New business opportunities:

Rural Tourism gives the sector new perspectives. Many villages of the Aurangabad has explored new opportunities and

came forward to associate with the tourism industry. The researcher found even those rural enterprises that are not directly involved in tourism will benefit from tourism development by maintaining close ties and contributing directly and indirectly for the growth of rural destination by offering organic food items, rural sports activities and the home made products for the sale and promotion

d) Youth opportunities:

In the recent years rural tourism has opened many doors for the rural youths to associate themselves for the employment and entrepreneurial development. The tourism industry is often marketed as an innovative and rapidly growing industry that is particularly suited to energy and enthusiasm.

e) Community diversification:

The diversification of the Community is an important activity in many marginal climatic and upland regions. Rural tourism is the finest example of the community diversification which has opened many paths for the local communities. In recent years, Aurangabad areas have experienced serious socio-economic problems, some major challenges related to failure of monsoon and lower agricultural yield, rural tourism has come up as an excellent example of the rural community diversification.

f) Rural Tourism Enhances and Revitalizes Community Pride:

In the last few years Aurangabad rural areas have seen a drastic change in terms of lifestyle, increased involvement in the tourism development, active participation of the rural communities and enhanced business opportunities for the local community. Along these lines the reason for network solidarity shifts from shared social foundation to shared picture. It has been found that rural products and amenities play a major in projecting the rich heritage and the pride of the rural community, which in turn acts a pull factor for the destination and attracts a good number of domestic and international tourists at the rural destination.

g) Sustainability Goals:

Rural tourism as an alternative to many other types of tourism or even the mass tourism can contribute to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by facilitating the inclusive development at local rural level. Sustainable development goals in the case of Aurangabad must be considered as a tool to spread the development at the rural level through tourism especially for the underdeveloped and upcoming regions and the communities of Aurangabad. The current research outlines and highlights few

suggestions to optimize the rural tourism to contribute to the SDGs especially for the Aurangabad and its rural destinations, i.e. higher degree of community awareness at the rural level, formulation and the implementation of the master plan for the sustainable development, basic infrastructure and better connectivity in the rural areas, active involvement of the rural community with improved and better marketing and promotional efforts, social media and digital presence with strong connect and coordination among the rural tourism stakeholders.

Sustainability goals has been a major area of development especially when it comes to the rural part of Aurangabad, the main focus has been the sustainable livelihood and highlighting the issues of poverty eradication through community mobilization around income and rural employment generations activities related to the tourism. In the recent years the sustainability has presented a unique flavour where a strong combination of culture, craft and ecological elements of rural life has enhanced the income and basic lifestyle of the rural community.

The resorts have highlighted about the active support and the strong participations for the sustainability and eco-friendly measure. Some of the major steps which have been taken are plantations in the Khultabad area, Daultabad area and the nearby forest areas. Shrushti agro farm has also organized many plantation drives as a combined effort from the resort and the local community, as a result we can see an enhanced and strong relationship between the service provider and the community involved. Hiranaya and Shrusti have also engaged in many sustainability practices such as water harvesting, gobar gas plant, garbage treatment area, sewage treatment plant, no plastic zone, eco- friendly practices and the use of eco-friendly housekeeping products and the other essential items used in the resort operations.

The resorts have also trained the local community members and employees about the sustainability measures; they have also trying to create more and more awareness among the tourist and the visitors as well. Many tourists have also appreciated the efforts and the sustainable measure which the resorts take and many of them have even participated in the major outreach programs conducted by the resorts. The resorts have even seen a major participation from the college and the school students who engage themselves for the plantation drive, forest cleaning, village sanitation programs etc. as a result we can see a new dimension coming up having a strong tri parta relationship which is quite unique and interesting i.e host, guest and local community relationship and participation for the sustainability and effort for saving the local environment and the rural heritage.

4.2) Challenges faced by the rural community& community participation in Aurangabad district:

In 1985 Murphy highlighted the benefits of the community participations for the development of the tourism destinations even other researchers like, Drake, 1991, Chalker , 1994 , Cater, 1996, contributed a lot for the community participations for the development any destinations.

Community Based Tourism development can bring many potential benefits for communities' economy, society and environment, however, if it is not assessed, planned and managed effectively with the communities, it may also come with an undesirable cost to society and the environment and the dynamics between them. In particular it focuses on the need for an in-depth and participatory assessment and planning phase. There are likely to be some obstacles encountered when planning for and delivering CBT. Building awareness and education processes into participatory assessment and planning phases is critical to sustaining an effective CBT operation and ensuring all community members have their 'eyes wide open' to potential impacts of tourism.

The study found that one of the most critical factor for success in CBT includes an understanding and acceptance by all members of local communities that CBT is no panacea or 'magic cure' to improving community livelihoods. CBT in rural areas especially in the case of Aurangabad is typically dependent on tourism products that are natural resource based. Consequently additional agencies (government agriculture, parks, forestry, fisheries and mining departments and other organizations) may need to be involved in CBT assessment and planning phases. It is of high importance that good relations are built with these types of stakeholders from the outset as they

The local residents of the Aurangabad felt that the following were the challenges they faced in trying to come up with tourism ventures in the Khultabad, Daultabad and Waluj area which they strongly feel needs to be critically addressed and highlighted before the local administration:

- a. Lack of capital investments
- b. Lack of clear government legislations, laws and policies
- c. Low level skill knowledge and technical awareness
- d. Lack of linkages between rural micro, small and rural medium enterprises

- e. Lack of rural business opportunities awareness and poor support from the financial institutions
- f. Lack of commitment and extended support by the public sector, such as DRDA, DSDD MTDC.
- g. Corruption and mismanagement of key development institutions and the local political bodies.

5. Conclusion:

The study has gone in detail to present the strong relationship between sustainable rural tourism development and the livelihood development. The study also presents an unique relationship between the rural community, livelihood and the overall growth of the rural tourism in the Aurangabad area. The current research presents that it is obvious that rural areas of the Aurangabad is the integral part of the other type of tourism and is expanding every year with the increasing demand and the movement of domestic and international tourists. With the more research on the livelihood, sustainability, dissemination of information, detailed planning of rural areas, implementation and the monitoring of all the existing and working policies towards strengthening the institution will certainly contribute for the process of achieving the principle and the values of sustainable tourism in the rural areas of Aurangabad. In the rural sector of Aurangabad the private sector investments are much required which can be enhanced by removing the barriers to growth and expediting critical policies that are being evolved. In the place like Aurangabad public and legislative support especially the local leaders and the panchayat heads will be essential for the sustainable development of the sector. The local community of Aurangabad must put their efforts for the promotion of sustainable tourism, through the development of policy tools, capacity building and awareness-raising programs, local involvement, guidelines for good practice and actual implementation also remains the essential goals. Sustainable tourism should be aimed to directly support poverty eradication and sustainable production and consumption. No doubt rural tourism will reduce the gap between the local communities, resort owners, government officials and will prove to be a perfect tool for the better livelihood and sustainable income pattern for the rural community of Aurangabad. Urban India by means of balancing urbanization and counter urbanization syndrome.

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